808

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

00037580

00037580

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 27 November, 2018

ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION;

OR,

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF

Its Principal Events;

WITH A VARIETY OF

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS

HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

BY

A. F. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,

MINISTER OF STATE.

37580 (37580)

ac

TRANSLATED

BY R. C. DALLAS, ESQ.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE AUTHOR, WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED.

VV. b. 1

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

London:

PRINTED BY SAMPSON LOW, BERWICK STREET;

FOR T. CADELL, JUN. AND W. DAVIES,

IN THE STRAND.

1800.

God
944.04
De-M/Ann

37580

CONTENTS.

OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER XIV.

Page

The Sovereignty of the People an Abſurdity —Its Conſequences—Mob of Palais-Royal Patriots occaſioned by the Veto—They ſend a Deputation to M. de Lally —Anonymous Letters—Patriotic Offerings of Silver Buckles and Jewels—Deputation from the Palais-Royal Patriots to the Commune upon the Veto—Their Orators ſent to Priſon—The Legiſlative Body confined to one Chamber—A Let-

Page

ter from Mr. Necker accompanied with a Memorial upon the Veto—The Aſſembly paſs over the Memorial without reading it—The ſuſpenſive Veto granted to the King—Fundamental Points of the French Monarchy—The Throne hereditary—Diſcuſſion of the Rights of the Spaniſh Branch of the Houſe of Bourbon—The King's Obſervations upon the Reſolutions of the 4th of Auguſt—Diſcontent and Inſolence of the Aſſembly—Failure of Public Credit—Manœuvres and Murmurs occaſioned by the Scarcity of Coin—The King and Queen ſend their Plate to the Mint—Report made by Mr. Necker—He propoſes a Patriotic Contribution—The Clergy offer the Plate belonging to the Churches—Remarkable Speech from Mirabeau—The Aſſembly confidently adopt Mr. Necker's Plan. - - - 1

CHAPTER XV.

Plan and Motives of the Factious for removing the National Aſſembly to Paris—Means concerted by the Royal Party to overturn the Project—Feeble Meaſures taken by the Court—Arts employed to agitate the Pariſians—French Guards—Conduct of M. de la Fayette, the Count d'Eſtaing,

Page

d'Eſtaing, and the Municipality of Verſailles — The Municipality petition the King for Troops — Manœuvres of the Orleans Faction — Arrival of the Regiment of Flanders — Alarm of the Pariſians — Entertainment given by the Gardes-du-Corps denounced to the Aſſembly — Mirabeau's Audacity — The King's Reply relative to the Conſtitutional Articles preſented for his Aſſent — Diſcontent of the Aſſembly — They demand the pure and unconditional paſſing of thoſe Articles. - 36

CHAPTER XVI.

Secret Negotiation between the King and M. de la Fayette — The Orleans Faction are informed of it — Means employed by them to prevent the Conſequences of it — Popular Commotions — Black Cockades torn from the Hats of thoſe who wore them — Inſurrection of Women in the Fauxbourgs — They flock in Crowds to the Place-de-Grève, and propoſe to hang a Baker — They force the Guard, and make their way into the Hotel-de-Ville — Are diſpoſed to go and force the Arſenal to get at Arms — They ſet out in Crowds for Verſailles; accompanied by ſome Brigands; — The Alarm-bell rung, the Drums beat

Page

to arms, all the Diſtricts aſſemble, the Men who had compoſed the French Guards march in Battle-array to the Place-de-Grève—Numerous Detachments from the different Battalions of the National Guard join them there—All cry out to be led to Verſailles—M. de la Fayette for ſome Moments oppoſes it, but at laſt applies to the Municipality for the Order, which they give him—The National Guard ſet out for Verſailles—Outrages of the 5th of October. - - - - - 59

CHAPTER XVII.

The Outrages committed on the 6th of October. - - - - 106

CHAPTER XVIII.

Agitation of the Capital on the Morning of the 6th of October—Remarkable Note of M. de la Fayette's—Arrival of the Brigands carrying in Triumph the Heads of the two Gardes-du-Corps—The Terror of the Pariſians diſſipated on hearing that the King and the Royal Family had ſet out for Paris—The King goes with his Family to the Hotel-de-Ville—Speech—The Queen's Preſence of Mind—Falſe

Page

Charges againſt the Gardes-du-Corps—A Letter from M. d'Eſtaing to the Queen—M. Augeard—The Scarcity of Bread ceaſes on the King's arrival—Stupidity of the Pariſians—A Letter from the King to the Aſſembly—Proclamation—Retreat of ſeveral Deputies—The Municipality of Verſailles petition the Aſſembly not to remove from that Town, and expreſs their wiſhes for the King's ſpeedy Return—Alarm of ſome of the Deputies—Mirabeau denounces M. de St. Prieſt—The Repoſitory for Pledges threatened to be pillaged; on what occaſion—Proceedings commenced upon the Outrages committed on the 5th and 6th of October—Alarms—M. de la Fayette compels the Duke of Orleans to ſet out for England. - - 146

CHAPTER XIX.

The King obliged to diſmiſs the Gardes-du-Corps—The Aſſembly remove to Paris—A Baker hanged by the People, and his Head placed on a Pike—Martial Law decreed—Denunciations againſt the Miniſters—The Aſſembly ſend for the Keeper of the Seals—Memorial of the Miniſters addreſſed to the Aſſembly—Debate on the Property of the Clergy, which is decreed

to

Page

to be at the Diſpoſal of the Nation—Aſſemblies of the Nobility in ſeveral Provinces; the Advantage that might have been made of them—The Conduct of the Aſſembly on the Occaſion—The Aſſembly ſuſpend all the Parliaments of the Kingdom—The Conduct of the Courts of Vacations—Weakneſs of the Miniſtry—Mandate of the Biſhop of Treguier — The States of Cambreſis recall their Deputies to the Aſſembly, and annul their Powers —The Aſſembly declare that Proceeding void. - - - - - 178

CHAPTER XX.

Scarcity of Money—Mr. Necker reads a long Memorial to the Aſſembly—Report of the Committee of Finances—Debate upon the Plan propoſed by Mr. Necker—The Aſſembly make a Gift to the Country of all the Deputies' Silver Buckles—Debate upon the Organization of the Municipalities—Impeachment at the Chatelet by the Committee of Inquiry againſt the late Miniſters, Marſhal Broglio, and the Baron de Buzenval—Trial of the latter —The ſame Committee lodge Informations reſpecting the Outrages committed on the 6th of October—Inſurrection at Toulon

Page

Toulon—Conduct of the Aſſembly on that Occaſion—Various Plans of Finance —Aſſignats—Arreſt and Trial of the Marquis de Favras, accuſed of a Conſpiracy —Suſpicions ſpread abroad on that Occacaſion againſt MONSIEUR, the King's Brother—He goes to the Hotel-de-Ville and diſſipates them—Suppoſed Murder. - - 212

CHAPTER XXI.

Decree relative to Penſions—Deputation to the King for ſettling the Civil Liſt—His Majeſty's Reply—The Marquis de Favras' Trial—Fury of the People—Aſſembling of Soldiers in the Champs Eliſées ſuppreſſed by M. de la Fayette—The Marquis de Favras condemned to Death and executed—His Heroiſm—Organization of the New Mnnicipalities—An important Step taken by the King in the Aſſembly——His Majeſty's Speech attended with great Applauſe—Expreſſions of the Queen—Addreſs of Thanks to their Majeſties—Oath taken by the Aſſembly and all the Spectators—Advantage that might have been drawn from that Circumſtance—M. Malouet's Motion on that Occaſion rejected—The Preſident's Speech to the King—Te Deum—Illumination—Diviſion

Page
ſion of France into Diſtricts—An Addreſs to the People decreed by the Aſſembly, and drawn up by the Biſhop of Autun - - - - 249

CHAPTER XXII.

Orders forged in the King's Name—Forged Decrees circulated in the Provinces—Inſurrections—Proviſional Law on that Subject—Its Defects—Injuſtice and Inconſiſtency in the Suppreſſion of the Feudal Rights—A Plan for the new Organization of the Army propoſed by Alexander Lameth—The Judges at the Chatelet acquit M. de Buzenval, M. de Barentin, and others, of the Charges preferred againſt them—The Miniſters abuſed on account of the new Penſions granted by the King—Decree—Diſtreſs of the People—Memorial on the Finances by Mr. Necker—Another Memorial by that Miniſter on the Formation of a Treaſury Office—Oppoſed by the Committee of Finances—Aſſignats—The Property of the Clergy ſet up to Sale—Offers of the Municipality of Paris—Compenſation for the Gabelle—Suppreſſion of the India Company—Lettres de Cachet aboliſhed—Report on the Compenſation for Tithes and

Page

and all Eccleſiaſtical Property, and on the future Proviſion for the Miniſters of Religion—A Motion for decreeing the Catholic Religion to be the Religion of the State—Rejected—Popular Commotions—Several Eccleſiaſtics inſulted—The Guard of the Aſſembly doubled—M. de la Fayette repairs to the Hall. - - 287

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the Red Book - - - 342

CHAPTER XXIV.

Debate and Decree relative to the limited Powers given to ſeveral Deputies—Some of them declare their Intention of vacating their Seats—Debate on the Organization of the new Judicial Power—Appearance of a War between England and Spain: the King informs the Aſſembly of the Meaſures he had taken on this Occacaſion—Important Debates—Decree—Debate on the Delegation of the Right to make War and Peace—Decree which decides this grand Queſtion conformably to a Motion made by Mirabeau - - 372

CHAP.

Page

CHAPTER XXV.

Violent Inſurrections and Aſſaſſinations at Niſmes, Marſeilles, Valence, Montauban, and other Places—A Commotion at Paris excited by the Jacobins againſt the Club known by the Name of the Salon-Français, and againſt the Deputies who had joined in the Capuchins' Church to ſign a Proteſt—The Populace hang three Thieves —M. de la Fayette forces a Man who was already tied to a Rope at the Lantern out of the Hands of the People—Conſtitutional Proclamation by the King—The Aſſembly enraptured ſend a Deputation to his Majeſty—Debate on the Conſtitution of the Clergy—A ſpeculative Sketch of the State of the Finances addreſſed to the Aſſembly by Mr. Necker—Revolt of ſome Regiments—The Royal Family go to St. Cloud—The Aſſembly requeſt the King himſelf to fix his Civil Liſt—His Majeſty's Reply—Decree. - - - 415

CHAPTER XXVI.

Decree of the Aſſembly relative to the Inſtitution of the Feſtival of the Federation—Deputation of the Conquerors of the Baſtille—Burleſque Deputation of the four Quarters

Page

Quarters of the World—Motion againſt the four Figures chained at the Foot of Louis XIV's Statue in the Place des Victoires—Motions againſt the Titles of Nobility, againſt Hereditary Nobility, againſt Armorial Bearings and Liveries, and againſt the Appellations of Monſeigneur, &c.—Decrees conformable to all theſe Motions—Obſervations publiſhed by Mr. Necker againſt thoſe Decrees—The Tennis-Court Oath engraved on a Braſs Plate, carried in Triumph by the People, and preſented to the Aſſembly—Maſſacres at Avignon—Affair of Count de Lautree and Viſcount Mirabeau—The latter compared with his elder Brother. - - - - 452

CHAPTER XXVII.

Singular Adventure which happened at St. Cloud to two young Men deranged in Mind—The Aſſembly endeavour to increaſe their Popularity by redoubling their Indulgence to Villains—The Duke of Orleans writes to the Aſſembly, and informs them of his Departure from England, to be preſent at the Federation——Preparations for that Feſtival—The Citizens, Men and Women of all Claſſes, go and work in the Champ de Mars—Decree

Page

cree regulating the Order to be obſerved at the Feſtival, and the Oath to be taken—Report reſpecting Penſions, tending to ſuppreſs them, and to create new ones in their ſtead, only to the Amount of ten Millions — Denunciation of M. de St. Prieſt, M. de Maillebois, and M. de Bonne-Savardin — Arrival of the Federates—Harangues—The King's Anſwer —Details relative to the Feſtival of the Federation. - - - - 495

ANNALS

ANNALS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Sovereignty of the People an Abſurdity —Its Conſequences—Mob of Palais-Royal Patriots occaſioned by the Veto—They ſend a Deputation to M. de Lally—Anonymous Letters—Patriotic Offerings of Silver Buckles and Jewels—Deputation from the Palais-Royal Patriots to the Commune upon the Veto—Their Orators ſent to Priſon—The Legiſlative Body confined to one Chamber—A Letter from

Mr. Necker accompanied with a Memorial upon the Veto—The Aſſembly paſs over the Memorial without reading it—The ſuſpenſive Veto granted to the King—Fundamental Points of the French Monarchy—The Throne hereditary—Diſcuſſion of the Rights of the Spaniſh Branch of the Houſe of Bourbon—The King's Obſervations upon the Reſolutions of the 4th of Auguſt—Diſcontent and Inſolence of the Aſſembly—Failure of Public Credit—Manœuvres and Murmurs occaſioned by the Scarcity of Coin—The King and Queen ſend their Plate to the Mint—Report made by Mr. Necker—He propoſes a Patriotic Contribution—The Clergy offer the Plate belonging to the Churches—Remarkable Speech from Mirabeau—The Aſſembly confidently adopt Mr. Necker's Plan.

JACOBINISM has formed *the ſovereignty of the People* into a principle, in order to make it the rallying cry of Rebellion, and the eſſential dogma of Revolution. This principle, or rather this groſs error, has been maintained and combated by arguments ſo profound and learned, that it is now become

come an abſtract political queſtion, above the underſtanding of the common run of mankind. Too melancholy have been the conſequences of it not to make us eager to remove the obſcurity with which it is ſtill enveloped. The ſimple light of common ſenſe is enough to ſhow its abſurdity; for abſurd we muſt call every aſſemblage of words which preſents no rational meaning, and to which we cannot even affix the idea of any thing poſſible.

The Factious, whoſe intention it was to annihilate the Monarchy, took great care not to let it be known that their object was to ſeize the ſupreme power themſelves. "It "is to you," ſaid they to the multitude— "it is to you that the ſovereignty belongs, "from you it has been uſurped; there were "People before there were Kings; Kings "were made by the People; therefore, it is "you who are the Sovereign, and all we "want is to reſtore you your rights."

Thoſe who have combated theſe ſophiſms * are by far too metaphyſical in their reaſon-

* Nobody attacked them with more force than *M. Malouet* in the firſt Aſſembly. See his Opinions,

reaſonings. The People comprehend only ſimple ideas, and we muſt preſent no others to them if we wiſh them to underſtand us. Thus, inſtead of attempting to prove "*that the* "*principle of Sovereignty is in the People,* "*but that the exerciſe of the Sovereignty* "*ought always to be ſeparated from its* "*principle, ſo as that the People, who pro-* "*duce the elements of it, ſhould diſcover it* "*no more but in a viſible and command-* "*ing Repreſentation which impreſſes them* "*with obedience.*"—I would have very plainly ſtated the following evident truths:

A Nation without a Government is not a ſocial body, but only a maſs, more or leſs numerous, of perſons living in a ſavage ſtate, and always ſubject to the law of the ſtrongeſt: this ſovereignty is that of the lion or the tiger.

When the majority of perſons in ſuch a Nation have determined on any form of Government whatever, it becomes a ſocial body, and the whole of the individuals together who compoſe that ſociety is denominated by the word *People.*

vol. iii. pages 48. 50. 144. 149. 152, and 153; and the Memoirs of the Archbiſhop of *Aix* relative to Avignon.

As

As there can exiſt no ſocial body without a Government, or Government without Sovereignty, the formation of the ſocial body is the original cauſe of Sovereignty.

Sovereignty conſiſts in the right of making laws united with the power neceſſary to enforce them; theſe are its only and eſſential elements.

The Legiſlative and Executive powers neither exiſt nor can be exerciſed but by delegation, except in the caſe of conqueſt.—Sovereignty, then, is a power eſſentially and neceſſarily delegated.

The right of delegating this power, and that of exerciſing it, are two rights abſolutely diſtinct which can never be united by the People; the former is the only one they can poſſibly exerciſe, and conſequently the only one they can claim.

A Government without Sovereignty could not exiſt; for it could govern nothing. It is to the Government, then, that Sovereignty is inſeparably united.

Great care muſt be taken to diſtinguiſh between the Government and Sovereignty.—The form of the Government, that is to ſay, the number of perſons to whom the exerciſe of Sovereignty is delegated, may

vary; but the Sovereignty is always immutable, and can only exiſt in the complete union of the Legiſlative and Executive powers.

A Nation forming themſelves into a ſocial body may chooſe the kind of Government that beſt ſuits them. In making their choice they exerciſe and conſummate the only right that belongs to them, or that they can exerciſe as a National body.

The right of doing a thing phyſically impoſſible is a ſuppoſition void of ſenſe.

It is phyſically impoſſible that a Nation compoſed of many millions of individuals ſhould exerciſe in a maſs the Legiſlative power; they are therefore under the neceſſity of delegating the right of making or agreeing to laws for them.

It is phyſically impoſſible that ſuch a Nation ſhould exerciſe in a maſs the Executive power; for, on whom ſhould they exerciſe it? Where would be their ſubjects, if all the individuals were Co-Sovereigns? They are therefore under the neceſſity of delegating alſo the power of enforcing or executing the laws.

In thus delegating the two powers which conſtitute the Sovereignty, the People cannot be

be ſaid to diſpoſſeſs themſelves of it; for, to diſpoſſeſs ourſelves of a right it muſt be veſted in us: now, the right of doing a thing phyſically impoſſible cannot be veſted any where.

The delegation of theſe two powers, which muſt neceſſarily follow the adoption of any form of Government, whatever, is, comparing great things with ſmall, a right ſimilar to that exerciſed by a meeting of Inhabitants when they proceed to appoint a Mayor, an Alderman, and other Civil Officers; or by an Army privileged to chooſe their General; nor would it be more abſurd to tell thoſe Inhabitants that they are the Mayor and the Alderman, or the Army that they are the General, than to tell the People that they are the Sovereign. Yet this abſurdity it is which has overthrown the moſt ancient and the fineſt Monarchy of Europe.

The People, who have never annexed any other idea to the words *Sovereign* and *Sovereignty*, than that of King and of Royalty, have argued thus—" The Nation is the So-" vereign, the Sovereign is King: We are " the Nation, therefore we are King."—And the cry of " *Vive le Roi*" became " *Vive la Nation.*"

This ſimple idea led them to another not leſs ſo. "If the People be *Sovereign*, that "is to ſay *King*, they ought to have ſub-"jects; for there cannot be a King without "ſubjects. The Clergy, the Nobility, the "Ariſtocrats, are not the People; theſe to "be ſure then muſt be our ſubjects." Such has been their logic, and they have reigned over their ſubjects according to their mode, by pillaging them, and cutting their throats *.

In like manner was it the intention of the *Palais-Royal* Patriots to reign over the Aſſembly themſelves, at the criſis when they

* They who had thrown the Sovereignty into the hands of the Brigands, fearing to be in their turn pillaged and maſſacred, to pervert the danger, broached the maxim of *political equality*. The People, who as little underſtood this phraſe as that of *ſovereignty*, annexed an idea to it that was moſt agreeable to their vanity and their covetouſneſs. As ſoon as the Clergy, Nobility, and Ariſtocrats, were annihilated, the claſſes of the inhabitants were all confounded in that of the People. The Sovereignty, become the right of all, had no object for its exerciſe, and the bloody anarchy that was the conſequence of this left it in the hands of the moſt determined villains. Thus, as the word *ſovereignty of the People* had dethroned the King, the word *equality* dethroned the People.

were diſcuſſing the great queſtion of the Royal aſſent. The Electors of Paris informed the Miniſter of the commotions in the Capital, by a letter dated the 30th of Auguſt, at ten at night. This letter, communicated by *M. de St. Prieſt*, was as follows:

"The Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives "of the Capital charge me to inform you "that there is a conſiderable number of ci- "tizens aſſembled in the *Palais-Royal*, "who talk of proceeding to Verſailles.— "The Aſſembly have deſired the Comman- "der in Chief to give orders for putting a "ſtop to it, and for preventing the conſe- "quences of this mob. We thought it pro- "per to inform you of it, that precautions "might be taken."

Another letter of the ſame night, dated at two o'clock, informed the Miniſter, that the ſteps taken by *M. de la Fayette* had ſubdued the ferment of the *Palais-Royal* meetings, and reſtored peace.

The reading of theſe letters was followed by intelligence much leſs tranquilliſing. *M. de Lally* mentioned, that in the night he had been called upon by a Deputation, compoſed of a Lawyer and an Engineer, who

who had told him "that they were ſolemnly "deputed to him as a good citizen, to de-"liver into his hands a motion which had "been drawn up in the *Palais-Royal*, and "which was to be ſent round next day to "all the diſtricts; that the tendency of it "was, to call for an election of new Depu-"ties, and an impeachment of thoſe turned "out, their perſons ceaſing to be inviola-"ble; and that the number of the Depu-"ties ſet down as Traitors and Ariſtocrats, "who were for paſſing the *abſolute veto*, "was conſiderable."

The Preſident then read the following anonymous letter directed to him, and which he had juſt received:

"The Patriotic Aſſembly of the *Palais-"Royal* have the honour to make it known "to you, that if the Ariſtocratic Faction, "formed by ſome of the Nobility, Clergy, "and a hundred-and-twenty ignorant and "corrupt members, continue to diſturb the "general harmony, and ſtill inſiſt upon the "*abſolute aſſent*; 15,000 men are ready to "*enlighten* their country-ſeats and houſes, "and particularly your own."

The Secretaries to the Aſſembly had received a letter much to the ſame purpoſe:—

"Your

"Your houſes (it ſaid) ſhall anſwer for
"your opinions, and we hope that the old
"leſſons will begin anew. Look to it, and
"take care of yourſelves."

The following are the heads of the motion that was delivered to *M. de Lally*:

"We are now arrived at the critical mo-
"ment of French Liberty. Being informed
"that ſeveral members are reſtrained by
"the different articles of their inſtructions,
"we think it is time to recall them; and as
"the perſon of a Deputy is ſacred and invi-
"olable, they may be impeached after
"their recall.

"The VETO does not belong to one man,
"but to twenty-five millions.

"The citizens aſſembled at the *Palais-*
"*Royal* are of opinion that the ignorant,
"corrupt, and ſuſpected Deputies ſhould
"be recalled.

"It has been unanimouſly reſolved, to
"go immediately to Verſailles, as well to
"put a ſtop to the Ariſtocratic effervеſcence
"there, as to protect the lives of the worthy
"Deputies which are in danger *.

"Reſolved at the *Palais-Royal*, Auguſt 30."

Other

* The framers of the Reſolution had in fact ſet out, at

Other Deputies alſo mentioned anonymous letters received by them. The boldeſt ſeized this occaſion to diſplay their intrepidity, while others preſerved a marked ſilence. A motion was made and ſeconded, for removing the Aſſembly to another place, ſhould the Mayor, and Commander of the bourgeois militia, not be able to anſwer for the tranquillity of Paris; but *Target*, the advocate, known in the Revolution for his ridiculous phraſe of *peace and concord followed by calm and tranquillity*, very aptly obſerved, that, as the laſt official letter of the Paris Electors mentioned that all was quiet, there were no grounds for a Reſolution; and the Aſſembly adopted his opinion.

It was beneath the dignity of a National Aſſembly to be alarmed, or even to give their attention to the ferment of ſome hundred idlers of the *Palais-Royal*, whoſe routs and aſſemblings the old police would have diſperſed in an inſtant. But the Municipality, and Commander of the bourgeois militia, uniting the powers, had at their command more than means ſufficient to repreſs all thoſe patriotic extravagancies. They

at the head of about fifteen hundred perſons; but they were prevented from going on by the bourgeois militia.

might

might very eaſily have prevented the mobs; they might have extolled the wiſdom and civiſm of the Aſſemblies of the diſtricts, to enable themſelves, without loſing their popularity, to prohibit all other Aſſemblies, and conſequently to ſhut up the Clubs and Coffee-houſes at the *Palais-Royal*, where the moſt worthleſs fellows and moſt violent ſpirits of the Capital were collected, who while together kept up and increaſed their audacity to a formidable pitch, but diſperſed in their reſpective diſtricts would have made no impreſſion.

The debate upon the Royal Aſſent, and on the abſolute or ſuſpenſive VETO, was protracted to the 11th of September; when it was interrupted by the patriotic offerings of ſome female artiſts, who came to preſent to the Country their ear-rings, ſhoe-buckles, watch-chains, baubles, and other articles of jewelry in gold or ſilver, which were all gratefully received by the Aſſembly. Theſe offerings ſoon became the ſignal for a general attack upon every perſon, of what condition ſoever, who had the imprudence to appear in the ſtreets with gold watch-chains or ſilver-buckles, which were preſently taken from them by bands of fiſhwomen, *in the*

nar-

name of the Nation, for the payment of the Public Debt.

The *Palais-Royal* Patriots being compelled to renounce their project of going to Verſailles, ſent a Deputation to the Commune, demanding an immediate convocation of the Aſſemblies of the Diſtricts, for the purpoſe of adopting a reſolution upon the VETO, upon the recall or confirmation of the Deputies of Paris, and upon the neceſſity of drawing up new inſtructions; explanatory of the former, relative to the VETO*. The Repreſentatives of the Commune gave a firm anſwer to this Deputation, and paſſed a ſevere reſolution, which for ſome time repreſſed thoſe ſeditious operations: they charged the Commander in Chief of the

* The people of Paris firmly believed that the *Veto* was a tax: in the country a much more dreadful idea was conceived of it. "Do you know (ſaid an honeſt peaſant to his neighbour) what the *Veto* is?"—"Not I."—"Then I'll tell you:—You have your porringer full of ſoup, the King tells you to ſpill it, ſpill it you muſt, that's all." Another, whom I aſked what he underſtood by the *ſuſpenſive Veto*, againſt which he was pouring forth the moſt violent imprecations, anſwered, that "if the *ſipenſive* (miſpronouncing the word) ſhould paſs, the King and his Miniſters might hang whom they pleaſed." It was with ſome difficulty I convinced him of the contrary.

Bourgeois

Bourgeois Militia to make uſe of every force neceſſary againſt the diſturbers of the peace, to cauſe them to be arreſted and committed to priſon, in order to be tried and puniſhed as the caſe required. Several of them, and particularly a pretended Marquis of *St. Huruge*, one of the moſt noted brawlers at the *Palais-Royal*, were confined in the Châtelet till quiet was re-eſtabliſhed.

The debate upon the Royal Aſſent took in alſo the arrangement of the Legiſlative body, or rather the queſtion of its conſiſting of two chambers or one only. It was not without a view that theſe two queſtions, ſufficiently important and diſtinct to have been treated ſeparately, were brought together. The intereſt of the former depended entirely upon the manner in which the latter ſhould be decided. With a Legiſlative Body, compoſed of two Chambers, having the mutual privilege of rejecting each what the other had reſolved, independently of the Royal VETO, the enemies of the Throne would have had much leſs means of overturning it: and if the plan of the two Chambers had prevailed, there is no doubt they would have united all their efforts to prevent the VETO's being granted to the King. On

the other hand, with a Legiſlative Body conſiſting of a ſingle Chamber, the abſolute or ſuſpenſive VETO, without the power of diſſolving the Aſſembly, could only be a uſeleſs prerogative to be ſhut up with the antiquated trappings of the Throne; or an inſtrument moſt fatal to the King who ſhould attempt to uſe it. The arrangement then of the Legiſlative Body was firſt ſettled: on the 8th of September it was decided that it ſhould be permanent, and on the 10th that it ſhould conſiſt but of one Chamber.

The next day, at the opening of the Sitting, the debate on the Royal Aſſent having been concluded, juſt as the queſtion was about to be put to the vote, the Preſident read a letter written to him by Mr. *Necker*, in which he obſerved, that the Miniſters having thought it their duty to conſult the King on the ſubject now before the Aſſembly, his Majeſty, upon conſidering it, had authoriſed him to ſubmit to the Aſſembly the Memorial which accompanied his letter.

The greateſt ſervice that the Miniſters could have rendered the King on this occaſion, would have been to have made him take the reſolution of accepting no VETO, before it were decided whether his Majeſty ſhould

ſhould or ſhould not have the right of diſſolving the Aſſembly, and of perſiſting in his refuſal if that right were not granted him. Several Deputies, and among the reſt *Mirabeau*, ſuſpecting that this might be the object of Mr. *Necker*'s Memorial, maintained, that ſuppoſing the King ſhould refuſe the VETO, that prerogative ſhould nevertheleſs be annexed to the Royal authority. Thoſe who were for paſſing the abſolute VETO were afraid leſt Mr. *Necker* ſhould propoſe the ſuſpenſive. Both theſe motives concurred in producing a reſolution that the Memorial ſhould not be read. The queſtion upon the Royal Aſſent was then reduced to three propoſitions, which were put to the vote in the following order:

1ſt. May the King refuſe his aſſent to the Acts of the Legiſlative Power?

2d. In the caſe of the King's refuſing his aſſent, ſhall ſuch refuſal be ſuſpenſive or abſolute?

3d. In the caſe of the King's refuſal being ſuſpenſive, for what time ſhall it laſt?

The firſt propoſition paſſed in the affirmative almoſt unanimouſly. On the ſecond it was decided by 693 votes againſt 325, that the King's refuſal ſhould be ſuſpenſive.

The third propoſition was adjourned till the next day; but the important queſtions to which it gave birth, delayed the deciſion of it till the 21ſt, when it was decreed, conformably to what had been propoſed by Mr. *Necker* in his Memorial which was publiſhed; that the Royal Aſſent could be ſuſpended only for two Aſſemblies; and that it could not be refuſed to a third Aſſembly, if the rejected plan of a law ſhould be a ſecond time preſented by them.

In the interval between the Sitting of the 11th and that of the 21ſt, the Aſſembly recogniſed with acclamations, and declared unanimouſly as fundamental points of the French Monarchy,

1ſt. That the King's perſon was ſacred and inviolable.

2dly. That the Throne was indiviſible.

3dly. That the Crown was hereditary in the male line by order of primogeniture, to the total excluſion of females and their deſcendants.

On this occaſion the great queſtion of the rights of the Houſe of Spain, and the validity of the renunciation made by *Philip V.* to the crown of France, was agitated. The warmth with which *Mirabeau* ſupported the

the intereſts of the branch of *Orleans* prolonged this debate for ſeveral Sittings, and rendered them very tumultuous: but, the Aſſembly in ſpite of his efforts contented themſelves with declaring, that by the article relative to the deſcent of the crown, nothing was meant to prejudice the effect of the renunciations *.

Two days after the firſt decrees of the Aſſent were paſſed, the Aſſembly gave the King an opportunity of exerciſing this prerogative, and of eſtimating the exact value of it. They ordered that the articles decreed on the 4th of Auguſt, and drawn up in the following Sittings, ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty: but whether they ſhould be preſented to receive his aſſent, or poſitively to be promulgated, was long the ſubject of altercation. They who held that the promulgation was all that was required maintained, that thoſe reſolutions being con-

* One of the Members of the Aſſembly *(Biauzat)* moved, that it ſhould be inſerted in the Minutes that this great and important queſtion had been diſcuſſed in the abſence of the Duke of *Orleans*. "Very proper (ſaid "another Member from the other end of the Hall); but "we muſt add alſo that it was diſcuſſed in the abſence "of the King of Spain." This piece of wit diſconcerted the mover, and the motion fell to the ground.

ſtitutional, the King's aſſent was not wanting to them; a principle that was pretty generally acknowledged by the Aſſembly: but the difficulty lay in determining whether thoſe reſolutions were conſtitutional, or whether they were altogether, or in part, only acts of legiſlation. The latter opinion prevailed; and it was in conſequence decided that the Preſident ſhould wait upon the King, to beſeech him to give his aſſent to them. From this debate it was very evident that not only the Conſtitution was to be made without the King's concurrence, but that it would be the ſame with every decree which the Aſſembly ſhould pleaſe to term Conſtitutional; nor was it long before they abuſed this opening.

In the Sitting of the 18th the Preſident read the King's anſwer to the requeſt that had been made to him, of aſſenting to the reſolutions of the 4th of Auguſt and the following days. It was replete with moderation and wiſdom. "Several of theſe arti-
"cles (ſaid his Majeſty) are but the out-
"lines of laws which it is neceſſary that the
"Aſſembly ſhould complete. I wiſh to
"know how you mean to apply them:
"for, while I approve of the general ſpirit

" of your reſolutions, there are a few ar-
" ticles to which I could only give a con-
" ditional ſanction. I will acquaint you
" with the reſult of my reflections, and
" thoſe of my Council, on this ſubject.
" If afterwards I ſhould find it neceſſary,
" I ſhall not heſitate to modify or even
" to relinquiſh my opinions. It will al-
" ways give me great pain to ſee or think
" differently from the Aſſembly." This introduction was followed by very juſt obſervations on each of the articles, the greater number of which his Majeſty approved, and to which he promiſed to aſſent as ſoon as they were formed into laws.

This letter, written in the friendly ſtyle of a good father reaſoning with his children, did not ſatisfy the Aſſembly, and exaſperated the more violent members to ſuch a degree, that one of them (*Chapelier*) had the inſolence to begin his ſpeech with theſe words:—*The kind of language you have heard read from the King.* Several Members of the Order of the Nobility, ſhocked at the indecency of the expreſſion, interrupted the ſpeaker, and obliged him to change his tone: yet it was decreed on his motion, ſupported by *Mirabeau* and the party, that the

Preſident ſhould inſtantly wait upon the King, not to aſk as before his aſſent to the reſolutions of the 4th of Auguſt, which was decided they did not ſtand in need of that, but to beſeech his Majeſty to order the promulgation of them without delay. The Preſident was charged at the ſame time to aſſure the King, that when the National Aſſembly went upon the detail of the laws, they would pay the moſt reſpectful attention to the reflections and obſervations which his Majeſty had been good enough to communicate to them.

The King, in his anſwer to this ſecond requeſt, obſerved, that promulgation belonged only to laws completed and drawn up in a regular form, ſo that they could be immediately put into execution; but that as he approved the general ſpirit of the reſolutions of the 4th of Auguſt, and ſeveral of their articles, he would order them to be publiſhed throughout the Kingdom. "I do "not doubt (added his Majeſty), from the "diſpoſition you manifeſt, that I ſhall be "able with perfect juſtice to give my aſſent "to all the laws you ſhall decree upon the "various ſubjects contained in your Reſo-"lutions."

The

The Conſtitutionaliſts and Democrats were completely ſatisfied with this anſwer, which they conſidered as a proof that the King began to underſtand, that when they granted him the VETO, they meant nothing more than to impoſe upon him the obligation of aſſenting, without heſitation, to all the decrees the Aſſembly ſhould pleaſe to preſent to him.

The attack made, by the Reſolutions of the 4th of Auguſt, upon property of the Higheſt importance and hitherto the moſt reſpected, completely extinguiſhed the remains of credit from which Mr. *Necker* laboured to take advantage: his ſecond loan was not more fortunate than his firſt; the patriotic offerings and donations multiplied in vain; they but the more expoſed the penurious ſituation of the treaſury, which was reduced to ſuch miſerable reſources. This inevitable effect of the deſtruction of public credit was to be imputed, it was ſaid, to the pretended ſcarcity of money; nor was it without a view that this impoſition was propagated: it led to the belief of much more ſerious ones. The Ariſtocrats, already denounced in all the revolutionary pamphlets as engroſſers of corn, and as attempting to ſicken

the people of liberty by famine, were now alſo accuſed of engroſſing the coin and of ſending it out of the kingdom, in order to ſtop the Revolution by bankruptcy. A waggon belonging to the Prince of *Lambeſc*, covered with a tilt marked with his arms, containing ſome of his goods, was reported to be loaded with gold, which the Queen was ſending to the Emperor. It was ſtopped at the barrier, and driven to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where it was examined and detained till a decree of the Aſſembly was paſſed to ſuffer it to proceed on its way. But the ſtory of the waggon of gold loſt nothing of its effect; it was repeated with the ſame confidence, and always with ſome new exaggeration; ſometimes as to the ſum, and ſometimes as to the number of waggons. A declaration made by a fiſhwoman or a workman at the *Hotel-de-Ville* was employed to confirm this pretended fact. It was by thus keeping the people in a perpetual ſtate of diſtruſt and irritation, that the factious were making way for the ſucceſs of the deciſive exploſion they were meditating.

The murmurs upon the ſcarcity of money becoming daily more violent, the King and Queen took the reſolution of ſending their plate

plate to the Mint. When the Aſſembly were informed of it they appeared ſenſible of the ſacrifice, and endeavoured to prevent its being put into execution. They directed the Preſident to go inſtantly to the King, and beſeech him to keep his plate. — "I "am extremely ſenſible (replied the King) "of the attention ſhown me by the Aſſem- "bly, aſſure them of it for me; but I muſt "notwithſtanding perſiſt in an intention "which the ſcarcity of coin renders proper. "Neither the Queen nor myſelf think any "thing of this ſacrifice."

This example would certainly have been generally followed, but it was no doubt feared leſt it ſhould become a means of popularity to thoſe who ſhould follow it; and therefore all merit in the ſacrifice was deſtroyed by making it a matter of neceſſity. It was declared, that a liſt of all thoſe who ſhould ſend their plate to the Mint, with the date of the days when ſent, ſhould be publiſhed every day in the Paris Journal, with an account of the number of ounces ſent by each perſon: thus making it impoſſible for thoſe who had plate to preſerve it without expoſing themſelves to very ſerious inſults from

from the mob, on the base report of a servant or workman.

In the sitting of the 24th of September, Mr. *Necker* attended, and made a very circumstantial report of the state of the Finances; in which he fixed the *deficit* at sixty-one millions, and declared the necessity of an extraordinary supply of eighty millions for the following year, the impossibility of attempting new loans, and the state of all the reductions and savings that could be made in the expences, &c.

The resources he proposed for the ensuing year consisted, 1st, Of a temporary tax, under the name of Voluntary Contribution, which he calculated would amount to the fourth of the income. 2d, In a contribution of two or three per cent. on the value of plate, money and jewels. "The peasant's "wife (said he) will give her golden cross "and ring, and not be the less happy "for it."

He informed the Assembly, that in order to provide for immediate wants, the King had authorised the receiving the silver that should be brought to the Mint, giving receipts to the bearers for the amount, and a note

note for the payment of its value. He propoſed to fix the value of ſilver at 6 livres 15 ſols* the ounce in receipts payable at ſix months date, and at 7 livres 5 ſols † in favour of thoſe who ſhould agree to carry their receipts to the loan without making it up with paper money. He depended alſo a great deal upon the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*, and thought it might be prudent to erect it into a National Bank.

It was in the debate that took place upon this report that the Archbiſhop of *Paris* offered, in the name of the Order of the Clergy, all the plate belonging to the churches that was not abſolutely neceſſary to the decency of Divine worſhip. This generous ſacrifice was attended with tranſports of joy, and general applauſe. Thus the Clergy, already robbed of their landed property, were alſo ſtripped of their moveables: their plate was wrought into crown-pieces, and ſhortly after their bells were melted into *ſous*.

Mirabeau, who was known to be *Necker*'s enemy, ſpoke as eloquently as artfully in favour of his plan: "The revenues of the

* 54 livres the mark. † 58 livres the mark.

"State

" State (ſaid he) are exhauſted, the treaſury
" empty, public authority has loſt its ſpring;
" to-morrow will your interpoſition be ne-
" ceſſary, nay it is neceſſary to-day, at this
" very moment. In ſuch circumſtances it
" appears to me impoſſible either to offer a
" plan to the Miniſter at the head of the
" Finances, or to be ſcrupulous about the
" one he propoſes to us.

" It would not become your wiſdom to
" render yourſelves reſponſible for the event,
" either by rejecting means which you have
" no time to inveſtigate, or by ſubſtituting
" any which you have not leiſure thorough-
" ly to digeſt. The unbounded reliance
" which the Nation has at all times placed
" in the Miniſter whom their acclamations
" recalled, ſufficiently authoriſes you, I
" ſhould imagine, to give him unlimited
" confidence in the preſent circumſtances.
" Agree to his propoſals without anſwering
" for them, as you have not time to conſi-
" der them: agree to them through confi-
" dence in the Miniſter, and think, that in
" beſtowing upon him this kind of provi-
" ſional Dictatorſhip, you fulfill your duty
" as Citizens and Repreſentatives of the
" Nation.

" If

" If Mr. *Necker* ſhould ſucceed, we will " bleſs his ſucceſs, for which we ſhall have " given the better chance the more complete " our compliance, the more unreſtrained " our confidence. Should he, which God " forbid! fail in his painful enterpriſe, " great no doubt would be the ſhock re- " ceived by the National veſſel in ſtriking " the ſhoal on which her favourite pilot " ſhould have run her: but the ſhock would " not diſcourage us; you would ſtill be " there, Gentlemen, your credit unhurt, " and the public body remaining whole.

" Let us look to happier omens; let us " decree the Miniſter's propoſals, and truſt " that his genius, aided by the natural re- " ſources of the fineſt Kingdom on the earth, " and the fervent zeal of an Aſſembly " which has given, and ſtill gives, ſuch " glorious examples, will be able to riſe to " the level of our neceſſities and of our cir- " cumſtances."

So much confidence and ſo much praiſe laviſhed on Mr. *Necker* by the moſt open enemy he had in the Aſſembly, appeared ſuſpicious to his friends. *Mirabeau*'s eagerneſs for the Miniſter's plan being adopted, made them fear that he was certain it would fail,

fail, or that it was his deſign to counteract it. Some of them in the courſe of the debate ſo plainly threw out this ſuſpicion, as to authoriſe *Mirabeau* to explain himſelf; which he did with the moſt artful appearance of frankneſs. "I have not the honour (ſaid "he) of being among the friends of the "Miniſter at the head of the Finances; but "were I his moſt affectionate friend, I "would not heſitate a moment, as the friend "of my Country, above all, as a Repreſenta-"tive of the Nation, to expoſe him rather "than the National Aſſembly to any hazard. "Such are my real ſentiments; I never "meant to deny or to diſguiſe them; and "I think, that although we authoriſe a mea-"ſure completely neceſſary, for which we "have at preſent nothing to ſubſtitute, we "ought not to take it upon ourſelves, or to "make it our own work, not having time "to conſider it.

"Did our reſpect for public faith, our "horror at *the infamous word bankruptcy*, "reſt on leſs ſolemn declarations, I might "take upon me to inveſtigate the ſecret "motives, perhaps, alas! unknown to our-"ſelves, which make us ſo imprudently "ſtand aloof at the moment when we are

"about

" about to proclaim an act of great ſacrifice,
" certainly ineffectual if it be not done im-
" mediately and with full confidence. To
" thoſe who familiarize themſelves to the
" notion of violating public engagements,
" through the fear of ſacrificing too much;
" through the dread of taxation, I would
" ſpeak thus:—And what is bankruptcy
" but the moſt cruel, the moſt iniquitous,
" the moſt unequal, the moſt diſaſtrous of
" taxes? My friends, hear but a word, a
" ſingle word. Two ages of depredations
" and robberies have opened the gulph that
" is ready to ſwallow up the Kingdom.
" This horrible gulph muſt be filled. Well,
" and here is a liſt of Frenchmen of pro-
" perty. Chooſe among the richeſt, that
" the fewer Citizens may be ſacrificed; but
" chooſe, for ought not the ſmaller number
" to periſh in order to ſave the maſs of the
" people? Come, theſe two thouſand *No-*
" *tables* poſſeſs what will ſupply the *deficit*,
" reſtore order to your finances, peace and
" proſperity to the Kingdom; ſtrike, im-
" molate without pity theſe wretched vic-
" tims, precipitate them into the abyſs, and
" it will cloſe.——Do you ſtart back with
" horror?

" horror?—Inconſiſtent, puſillanimous men!
" What! do you not ſee then that by de-
" creeing bankruptcy, or, what is ſtill more
" hateful, by rendering it inevitable without
" decreeing it, you diſgrace yourſelves by
" an act a thouſand times more criminal;
" and, what is inconceivable! criminal for
" no purpoſe; for, in ſhort, the horrible
" ſacrifice which is firſt propoſed would put
" an end to the deficit before to-morrow.
" —Ye Stoical contemplators of the incal-
" culable evils which bankruptcy would
" pour forth upon France! inſenſible, ſelf-
" iſh men! who imagine that thoſe convul-
" ſions of deſpair and miſery will paſs
" away like ſo many others, and the more
" rapidly for being the more violent, are ye
" very ſure that ſuch a number of men
" wanting bread will quietly ſuffer you to
" reliſh meals, of which you could not
" conſent to decreaſe either the frequency
" or the luxury?—No.—Periſh ye will, and
" in the general conflagration which ye do
" not ſhudder at kindling; nor will the
" loſs of your honour ſave a ſingle one of
" your deteſtable enjoyments!

" This

" This is the road on which we are tra-
" velling. I hear of patriotiſm, the raptures
" of patriotiſm, the invocations of patriot-
" iſm: prithee do not proſtitute the words
" patriotiſm and country. Is it a very ge-
" nerous effort, then, to give a part of your
" income in order to ſave all you poſſeſs?
" Why, Gentlemen, it is nothing more than
" common arithmetic; and he who can heſi-
" tate, could only diſarm indignation by the
" contempt which his ſtupidity muſt ex-
" cite." Yes, Gentlemen, it is the moſt
" ordinary prudence, the moſt daily wiſ-
" dom, the groſſeſt ſelf-intereſt, to which
" I urge you. Vote then this extraordi-
" nary ſubſidy, and may it prove ſufficient!
" Vote it, becauſe although you have doubts
" upon the means (vague and unintelligible
" doubts), you have none upon its neceſ-
" ſity at leaſt, or upon our ability of im-
" mediately ſupplying its place. Vote it,
" becauſe public circumſtances admit of no
" delay, and becauſe we ſhould be blamed
" for rejecting it. Take care not to aſk
" for time, it is a thing misfortune never
" grants.—Gentlemen, you may recollect
" that a few weeks ago, on a ridiculous

" motion made at the *Palais-Royal*, a ludi-
" dicrous inſurrection, which was of no
" importance but in weak imaginations, or
" the wicked deſigns of ſome knaves, we
" were violently ſummoned in theſe words:
" *Catiline is at the gates of Rome, and*
" *yet you deliberate!*—and certainly we
" had about us neither *Catiline*, nor dan-
" gers, nor factions, nor Rome.—But now,
" Bankruptcy, hideous Bankruptcy is here,
" and threatens to conſume you, your pro-
" perty, your honour—AND YET YOU DE-
" LIBERATE!"

It is impoſſible to ſay what an impreſſion was made by this unpremeditated ſpeech upon the Aſſembly. The extracts I have cited are enough to give an idea of the talents of *Mirabeau*. The following chapters will bring us acquainted in other points with this extraordinary man, who gave almoſt as much cauſe to regret his death, as he had given to curſe his birth.

The decree which was the conſequence of *Mirabeau*'s ſpeech deſerves to be reported, and was this:

" Conſidering

Conſidering the urgency of circum-
" ſtances, and having heard the Report
" of the Committee of Finances, the Na-
" tional Aſſembly accept, *through confi-*
" *dence*, the plan of the Prime Miniſter of
" the Finances."

CHAPTER XV.

Plan and Motives of the Factious for removing the National Aſſembly to Paris—Means concerted by the Royal Party to overturn the Project—Feeble Meaſures taken by the Court—Arts employed to agitate the Pariſians—French Guards—Conduct of M. de la Fayette, the Count d'Eſtaing, and the Municipality of Verſailles—The Municipality petition the King for Troops—Manœuvres of the Orleans Faction—Arrival of the Regiment of Flanders—Alarm of the Pariſians—Entertainment given by the Gardes-du-Corps denounced to the Aſſembly—Mirabeau's Audacity—The King's Reply relative to the Conſtitutional Articles

cles preſented for his Aſſent—Diſcontent of the Aſſembly—They demand the pure and unconditional paſſing of thoſe Articles.

THE progreſs of the Revolution was not yet ſufficiently rapid to pleaſe the Factious. The Pariſian mob, who were their neceſſary inſtrument, could not, without great difficulty and at enormous expence, be ſent to Verſailles to terrify the Court, or the Aſſembly, when needful, ſo that this moſt efficacious means could but very rarely be employed; whereas they would have it completely at their command, if the Aſſembly were removed to Paris; conſequently its removal became their grand project. As ſoon as it was formed, ſeveral members of the Aſſembly devoted to the King were made acquainted with it by confidential correſpondents in Paris, from whom they learned, on the 14th of September, that the 5th of October was the day fixed upon for carrying the plot into execution. After comparing the ſeveral notes they had received, they agreed to meet, in order to decide upon the Reſolution to be taken, and a conference was held on the 15th of September, at

M. Malouet's, from whom I received the following particulars;

"We had taken meaſures," ſaid he, "to aſcertain the opinion of the majority. "Fifteen of us conſulted with three hun- "dred and forty members of the *Tiers-* "*Etat*, in different meetings, where we "mentioned the reports we had received "from Paris, and made ſuch propoſitions "as we judged ſuitable to the occaſion.— "We thought the moſt urgent meaſure was "to prevent the attack of the 5th of Oc- "tober, by engaging the King to remove "the Aſſembly to Tours, and we were aſ- "ſured of the concurrence of more than "three hundred Deputies of the *Tiers-* "*Etat*. The Biſhop of *Langres*, *M. de* "*Lally*, and *M. de Virieux*, who were "members of our Committees, were very "certain that the majority of the Clergy "and of the Nobility, would follow that "of the *Tiers-Etat*. It was therefore re- "ſolved to make the propoſal to the King. "The Biſhop of *Langres*, *M. N*——, and "myſelf, were commiſſioned to do it. We "went to *M. de Montmorin's* on the ſame "day, at nine in the evening; for it ap- "peared to us of no uſe, and even dan-

"gerous, to go directly to the King, as "ſuch a ſtep would have made too much "noiſe; but we requeſted *M. de Montmo-* "*rin* and Mr. *Necker*, who in this in- "ſtance concurred, to lay directly before "his Majeſty the object and motives of "our waiting upon them. The Council "were called together, and a long debate "took place reſpecting the removal of the "Aſſembly. We were informed by the "two Miniſters that the King had oppoſed "it, but that meaſures were to be taken "for the ſecurity of his Majeſty and of "the Aſſembly."

While the Court was taking thoſe meaſures, the inſufficiency of which has been but too well proved by the event, the agitation of the Pariſians was daily making the moſt alarming progreſs. The Agents of the *Orleans* Faction had perſuaded them that a plan was formed to carry off the King, with or without his conſent, to ſome fortified place, whither the Miniſters were to repair, the Supreme Courts to be removed, and a numerous army to be aſſembled for the purpoſe of attacking the Repreſentatives of the Nation and the Patriots. It was ſaid that a ſecret ſubſcription was opened to pay for

the aſſaſſination of all the good citizens, and that Prieſts and Nobles went in crowds to ſubſcribe at this Proſcription office. Foreign Ambaſſadors, former Miniſters, and diſtinguiſhed military men, were reported to be at the head of this pretended plan. The want of corn and of money, it was ſaid, was entirely owing to their being engroſſed to provide ſubſiſtence and pay for that army. It was even publicly aſſerted, that the King and Queen had only ſent their plate to the Mint, in order from the produce of it to pay the ſecret expences of this project. Thus did hired impoſtors miſconſtrue and miſrepreſent, with the groſſeſt calumnies, all their Majeſties' ſacrifices and acts of benevolence; and the People, whom the dread of civil war, joined to the fear of wanting bread and money, rendered ſtill more credulous, believed all thoſe abſurdities.

The French Guards, who had by this time ſpent the ſhameful produce of their treaſon and of their plunder, in public-houſes and in riots of the moſt diſguſting debauch, looked upon this critical juncture as a favourable opportunity for ſignaliſing themſelves by new crimes, and obtaining freſh recompenſes. The grenadiers loudly pro-

proclaimed their intention of resuming their duty about the King, in company with the Parisian National Guard, with whom they were incorporated under the name of *Paid Guards*. They were encouraged in this project by those who believed, or pretended to believe, the probability of the King's going off, and all the ridiculous plots that were to be the consequence.

M. de la Fayette being informed, on the 16th of September, of the project of the grenadiers of the French Guards, succeeded in suspending the execution of it, and sent an account of it the next morning to the Minister, (*M. de St. Priest*) in the following letter:

"The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* will "have mentioned to you the idea that has "been put into the head of the grenadiers of "going to-night to Versailles. I sent you "word not to be uneasy, as I depended up- "on their confidence in me to put an end to "the project; and I must do them the jus- "tice to say, that they meant to have asked "my permission: several of them thought "the request nothing out of the ordi- "nary way, and such as I should give orders "for. They entirely gave up their intention,

"on

" on my ſpeaking a few words to them, and " nothing of it remains in my mind but the " idea of the inexhauſtible reſources of the " caballers. You muſt conſider this cir- " cumſtance only as a new indication of " evil deſigns, and not by any means as any " danger in itſelf. Send my letter to *M. de* " *Montmorin.*"

This letter was communicated to Count *d'Eſtaing*, who commanded the National Guard of Verſailles; on which he immediately aſſembled his Staff Officers, read it to them, and convinced them of the neceſſity of obtaining a re-inforcement of a thouſand troops of the line, that the National Guard of Verſailles might be able to anſwer as they ought for the ſafety of the Royal Family, and of the Repreſentatives of the Nation. They reſolved in conſequence, according to the opinion of *M. d'Eſtaing*, that the Municipality ſhould be required to petition the King for that re-inforcement.

Count *d'Eſtaing* went himſelf, accompanied by ſix Officers, to make the demand of the Municipality; who conſented to it, upon condition that *M. de la Fayette's* letter ſhould remain annexed to their regiſters; but upon the repreſentation which was made

to

to them of the danger that might ariſe from this to *M. de la Fayette* himſelf, by the letter's being made public, it was agreed that they ſhould be ſatisfied with an oſtenſible letter from the Miniſter, containing the facts mentioned in that of *M. de la Fayette*. It was immediately ſent by *M. de St. Prieſt* while they were aſſembled; and on that letter it was reſolved that the Municipality ſhould petition the King for a regiment of infantry, to be under the command of the Commander of the National Guard of Verſailles, for which the poſts of honour about the Royal Family ſhould be reſerved.

This Reſolution and the demand of the Staff Officers being ſent to the Preſident of the National Aſſembly, it was read in the Sitting of the 21ſt of September. The meaſure, weak as it was, could only clog the execution of the horrid conſpiracy which the *Orleans* Faction were plotting, and which was to break out a fortnight afterwards. It was conſiſtent therefore in *Mirabeau* to ſet his face againſt the conduct of the Staff Officers and of the Municipality of Verſailles. He maintained, "That "when preſſing circumſtances required ex- "traordinary precautions, it was the duty "of

" of the Executive power to demand troops, " and to communicate the motives for the " demand to the Legiſlative power; but " that no Municipality whatever, upon mo- " tives not communicated, had any right " to call for a body of regular troops to " the place in which the Legiſlative power " was reſiding; and that the Aſſembly had " not given up the privilege of inquiring " into the cauſes which, in the town where " they aſſembled, had urged the Municipa- " lity to apply for troops." He was anſwered, that a formal Decree had authoriſed the Municipalities to call for troops when they judged it to be neceſſary, and that that power had not been taken from the Municipality of Verſailles. This unanſwerable obſervation did not prevent him from riſing again to repeat his efforts in other terms; but the Aſſembly notwithſtanding, reſolved, that there was no room to deliberate, and all he could obtain was, that the words "*as to the preſent*" ſhould be added to the Decree.

The motives which had determined the King to grant the Municipality of Verſailles the regiment of infantry they had aſked for, were officially notified to the Aſſembly by a letter from the Miniſter of War, written by

by command of his Majeſty to the Preſident, to inform him, that upon various threats from evil-minded perſons, of coming from Paris with arms, he had taken meaſures to ſecure the reſidence of the National Aſſembly.

The arrival of the regiment of Flanders at Verſailles alarmed the populace of Paris almoſt as much as if it had been an army of a hundred thouſand men. What had the Capital to fear with a bourgeois militia of twenty times the number of all the troops then at Verſailles? Was it probable that the King, who had ſhown no hoſtile deſign againſt it when he had an army of 30,000 men at his command, and before the embodying of the bourgeois militia, ſhould have conceived the ſenſeleſs project of attacking Paris with a regiment of two battalions? Nevertheleſs, the alarms excited on this occaſion by the uſual incendiaries among the People, were ſo great, that *M. Bailly* wrote to the Miniſter of War, to expreſs the ardent wiſhes of the Capital for removing the regiment of Flanders, and to conjure him to give the neceſſary orders for that purpoſe. This letter was laid before the National Aſſembly in the Sitting of the

23d

23d of September, but they paid no attention to it.

Theſe abſurd alarms would have remained an inexplicable enigma, had they not been excited by the ſame perſons who were afterwards ſeen taking the lead in the inſurrection of the 5th of October. The apprehenſions of thoſe villains at the arrival of the regiment of Flanders, could only have been raiſed from their not having been certain at the time, of being able to carry the National Guard to Verſailles with the wretched mob which they propoſed to lead thither, and which a regiment would have eaſily diſperſed.

The regiment of Flanders entered Verſailles on the 23d of September, and marched to the *Place d'Armes*, where the men took the oath, adminiſtered by the Municipality in preſence of the Officers of the National Guard of Verſailles, and began to do duty with them. As ſoon as this was known at Paris, it was reſolved to employ every poſſible means to corrupt the ſoldiers. A legion of common women, picked from among thoſe who were the beſt grounded in the patriotic jargon, was ſent to them, and unknown emiſſaries

emiſſaries daily and ſecretly diſtributed abundance of money among them. They were ſoon prevailed upon to exchange the white cockade for the tri-coloured one.

The *Gardes-du-Corps*, who were witneſſes to theſe manœuvres and to their ſucceſs, became apprehenſive that the King would not long continue in ſafety. The means which appeared to them the moſt proper to anticipate this danger, was to endeavour to attach the regiment of Flanders and the National Guard of Verſailles more particularly to the defence of his Majeſty's perſon. It was with this view that they gave an entertainment to the Officers of the regiment of Flanders, and to which they invited ſeveral Officers of the National Guard, of the Rangers of the *Trois Evéchés*, and of the *Prévoté de l'Hôtel*. The King allowed this entertainment, ſo innocent and ſo miſrepreſented, to be given at the Theatre in the Palace. The day fixed for it was Thurſday the 1ſt of October, and the Hercules Saloon was the place of meeting. The gueſts being aſſembled at the appointed hour, to the number of about 240, went to the Theatre, where the dinner was ſerved. The lights of the houſe, the crowd of

of ſpectators who filled the boxes; and the muſic of the band belonging to the *Gardes-du-Corps* joining with that of the regiment of Flanders, gave this repaſt the brilliancy and gaiety of a feſtival. In the ſecond courſe, the company drank to the health of the King, Queen, Dauphin, and Royal Family. I have been aſſured by two perſons who were preſent at this entertainment, that the words *to the health of the Nation* were alſo pronounced feebly by one of the gueſts or one of the ſpectators, and that the not repeating or ſeconding this toaſt was attended with no conſequences. The cuſtom of drinking to the health of the Nation had not been then eſtabliſhed, and one may be allowed, without a crime, to think that that was not the moment for introducing ſuch an innovation; yet one of the greateſt crimes imputed to the *Gardes-du-Corps* was their not being willing to drink to the health of the Nation, that is to ſay, to their own health, for they were indiſputably a part of the Nation.

Towards the end of the repaſt, the King, accompanied by the Queen and the Dauphin, made his appearance. A moment before, a conſiderable number of ſoldiers had been admitted,

admitted, who joined their ſhouts of joy and clapping with thoſe of the gueſts, in acknowledgment to their Majeſties for the happineſs they added to the feaſt by their preſence. The Queen took the Dauphin in her arms, and walked round the table with him, amidſt the livelieſt acclamations. The *Gardes-du-Corps*, the Officers and the ſoldiers, with their ſwords drawn, then drank to the health of the King, Queen, and Dauphin. Their Majeſties were gratified with this reſpect, and retired. At that moment, the muſicians, willing to teſtify, in their manner, that they ſhared the ſentiments which animated the company, played ſuitable airs, and among others—"*O Richard! O mon Roi! L'Univers t'abandonne, &c.*"

It is eaſy to imagine what effect this muſic would produce upon ſome young people, whoſe heads were already heated by the fumes of wine. They ſoon began to act what the muſicians played; they grew animated at the lively airs, and ſoftened at the tender ones. When the charge was ſounded, they were ſeen ſcaling the boxes, while the ſpectators made the houſe ring with clapping.—In theſe joyous tranſports, heightened by a

degree of intoxication, there eſcaped ſome buffoonery upon the *tri-coloured* cockade, and ſome indiſcreet words reſpecting the white one. It is even ſaid, that cockades of white paper were ludicrouſly tied to two or three hats. After the feaſt, this noiſy merriment, eſpecially the ſhouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" "*Vive la Reine!*" was continued for ſome minutes, upon the terrace of the Palace, and in the Marble Court. An Aide-de-Camp of Count *d'Eſtaing's*, and a grenadier, climbed up the balcony of the King's apartments: a dragoon, who had drunk too much wine to be able to follow them, thinking it a diſgrace, was going to kill himſelf, and it was with difficulty he was brought to reaſon.

At the ſame time, in the paſſage leading from the terrace to the great ſtair-caſe of the Palace, a ſcene was paſſing of a much more ſerious nature. A Ranger of the regiment of the *Trois Evéchés* ſtood there, reſting his head on the handle of his naked ſword, and appeared oppreſſed with the moſt violent affliction. *M. de Miomandre*, an Officer of the régiment of Turenne, happening to paſs near him, he ſeized him by the arm, and cried, in a tone of the deepeſt deſpair—

deſpair—" Ah! Sir, how wretched am I! would I were dead!" His convulſive ſobs, accompanied with tears, prevented his uttering more than half ſentences. Looking about him with a wild air, and ſeeing only the Officer by, he addreſſed the following unconnected words to him:—"*Our good King!—Theſe excellent Gardes-du-Corps!—Ah, Sir! Sir!——I am a great ſcoundrel!—Monſters! What do they want me to do?*" "Who do you mean?" ſaid *M. de Miomandre*——"*Thoſe raſcally Commanders and Orleans.*" Several people now came round him, when in a fit of fury he turned the point of his ſword to his heart. *M. Duverger*, who happened to be near, on being called by *M. de Miomandre*, ran up and diſarmed the Ranger, but not before he had wounded himſelf. He was carried to the guard-houſe, drenched in his blood, and laid upon a bundle of ſtraw; where he remained in a perfect ſtate of ſtupor and depreſſion, till ſome of his companions, informed of what had happened, haſtened to the guard-houſe; where falling upon this miſerable creature, they completely kicked him to death, nor did the ſtanders-by interpoſe to prevent it, or even ſeem hurt at it.

It has been ſaid that this man was drunk, and indeed nothing is more probable; but it was never ſaid that his companions, who aſſaſſinated him, were in liquor. What then could be their motives for treating with ſuch ſhocking inhumanity a drunken man, who had done them no harm; as the broken ſentences which eſcaped him applied only to *the Commanders and the Duke of Orleans?* Was it for the ſafety of thoſe great criminals that they committed this murder, or to prevent more poſitive diſcoveries? One or the other it certainly was, but it might be either; and there, in my opinion, lies the only difficulty attending this enigma, which, at the time, the Miniſters did not chooſe or did not dare to inveſtigate.

In the evening of the ſame day, ſome white cockades were noticed in the King's anti-chamber, commonly called the *Oeil-de-beuf*. It was even told, that ſome ladies of the Court had taken the white ribbons from their head-dreſſes, to put them into the hats of ſome of the Officers of the National Guards, who had aſked for them; and this innocent favour was converted into a National crime.

Such is the exact account of what paſſed

at

at the famous entertainment given by the *Gardes-du-Corps*, which *Adrian Duport* had the aſſurance to be the firſt to denounce to the Aſſembly, under the deſcription of *the ſcandalous feaſt of the Palace*, and as *one of thoſe raving orgies, at which prudence is terrified, and indigence murmurs*. *Petion* improved upon this denunciation, and added, that imprecations had been uttered at this feaſt againſt the National Aſſembly. One of the members of the Nobility, ſhocked at this impoſture, moved, that *Petion's* denunciation ſhould be ſigned by him, and laid upon the table. *Mirabeau*, who ſaw the embarraſſment into which this demand had thrown *Petion*, and fearing, no doubt, leſt he ſhould explain away a denunciation which it was material to him ſhould be ſupported, roſe to aſſiſt him with unparalleled audacity and effrontery.

" I premiſe," ſaid he, " that I conſider " the motion for this denunciation as ſu- " premely impolitic: however, if it be " perſiſted in, I am myſelf ready to ſtate all " the particulars, and to ſign them; but I " ſhall move, that this Aſſembly previouſly " declare, that the perſon of the King alone

" is inviolable, and that all other perſons in " the State, be they whom they may, are " equally ſubject and amenable to the " law *."

This unexpected propoſition ſhocked the *coté droit*, while it emboldened the *coté gauche*, and gave riſe to ſome ſharp language, which the Preſident put an end to, by calling for the order of the day, which was the conſideration of the King's Anſwer reſpecting the Rights of Man, and other articles of the Conſtitution, that had been decreed, and for which his ſanction had been demanded. Hiſtory will preſerve this Anſwer as an authentic monument of the wiſdom of *Louis XVI*, and of the extreme goodneſs of his heart.

" As to the Declaration of Rights, and " the Articles of the Conſtitution decreed, " my intentions are as follows:

" New Conſtitutive Laws cannot be well " conſidered but by taking them together;

* *Mirabeau* ſaid, loud enough to be heard by thoſe near him, *I ſhall denounce the Queen and the Duke de Guiche.* See the depoſition of *M. Digoine*, 168, a witneſs in the proceedings at the Châtelet.

" all hang one upon another, in ſo great
" and important a work. Nevertheleſs, I
" think it very natural, that at a moment
" when we are inviting the Nation to make
" every effort of patriotiſm, we ſhould ſa-
" tisfy them on the chief object of their
" concern. Therefore, in the hope that
" the firſt Conſtitutional Articles which you
" have preſented to me, in conſequence of
" your labours, will fulfil the wiſhes of
" my People, and ſecure the tranquillity of
" the Kingdom, I grant, according to your
" deſire, my aſſent to thoſe Articles—but
" upon the expreſs conditions, from which
" I will never ſwerve, that from the gene-
" ral reſult of your deliberations, the Exe-
" cutive power preſerve its full effect in the
" hands of the Monarch.

" A ſeries of facts and obſervations,
" which will be laid before you from me,
" will convince you, that in the preſent ſtate
" of things, I cannot enforce the collection
" of the taxes, nor the circulation of corn,
" nor protect perſonal liberty. I am, howe-
" ver, anxious to fulfil theſe eſſential duties
" of Royalty; the happineſs of my ſubjects
" and the maintenance of ſocial order de-

" pend upon it. I deſire then that we " may unite in removing all the different " obſtacles which might oppoſe ſo deſirable " and ſo neceſſary a power.

" You are doubtleſs ſenſible that the old " inſtitutions and the judicial forms cannot " be changed till a new order of things be " ſubſtituted; on this point, therefore, I " need make no obſervations to you.

" It only remains for me to declare to you " frankly, that, although I give my aſſent " to the different Articles you have preſented " to me, I am not ſtruck with the idea of " perfection equally in them all.

" But I think it incumbent on me not to " defer paying attention to the preſent wiſh " of the Repreſentatives of the Nation, and " to the alarming circumſtances which call " upon us to ſtrive above every thing to re- " eſtabliſh peace and order.

" I make no comments on the Declaration " of the Rights of Man; it contains very " good maxims for the direction of your " labours. But there are in it principles li- " able to different applications, and even to " different interpretations, which cannot be rightly underſtood till their real ſenſe be

" ſettled

"ſettled by the laws to which the Declara-
"tion is to ſerve as a baſis.

"(Signed) LOUIS."

This Anſwer was applauded as it deſerved, by many members of the ſuperior Clergy and of the Nobility; but it diſpleaſed the majority of the Aſſembly, who were miſled by the violent declamations of *Robeſpierre*, *Adrian Duport*, *Petion*, *Mirabeau*, and the other orators of their claſs. Not ſatisfied with diſfiguring all his Majeſty's expreſſions by falſe and perfidious interpretations, they introduced into this debate unfounded allegations of imaginary grievances, which were totally foreign to it, and which ſeemed to have no other object than that of pointing out to the people new pretences for inſurrection; ſuch as the entertainment given by the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and a fictitious letter, directed to a miller, containing 200 livres, with a promiſe of as much more next week, if he would not grind corn. In fact, it will be ſeen in the following chapter, that theſe were the only reaſons given to the Aſſembly by the leaders of the firſt detachment of the Pariſian Populace, who arrived that very day at Verſailles, and whoſe harangue

harangue one might have thought, and perhaps without being miſtaken, had been preconcerted with the ſpeakers laſt-mentioned. Be that as it may, the debate upon the King's Anſwer produced the following Decree:

" The National Aſſembly ordain that the " Preſident, at the head of a Deputation, " do this day wait upon the King, in order " to beſeech him to give his aſſent pure and " unconditional to the Articles of the De- " claration of Rights, and to thoſe of the " Conſtitution, which have been preſented " to him."

In this then, as I have obſerved, conſiſted the grand Royal Prerogative of the *Suſpenſive Veto.* It authoriſed the King to grant, but not to refuſe, his ſanction or aſſent.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XVI.

Secret Negotiation between the King and M. de la Fayette—The Orleans Faction are informed of it—Means employed by them to prevent the Conſequences of it—Popular Commotions—Black Cockades torn from the Hats of thoſe who wore them—Inſurrection of Women in the Fauxbourgs—They flock in Crowds to the Place-de-Grève, and propoſe to hang a Baker—They force the Guard, and make their way into the Hotel-de-Ville—Are diſpoſed to go and force the Arſenal to get at Arms—They ſet out in Crowds for Verſailles, accompanied by ſome Brigands—The Alarm-bell rung, the Drums beat to arms, all the Diſtricts aſſemble, the Men who had compoſed the French Guards

Guards march in Battle-array to the Place-de-Grève—Numerous Detachments from the different Battalions of the National Guard join them there—All cry out to be led to Verſailles—M. de la Fayette for ſome Moments oppoſes it, but at laſt applies to the Municipality for the Order, which they give him—The National Guard ſet out for Verſailles—Outrages of the 5th of October.

A FEW days after Mr. *Necker*'s retreat, the King ſeeing that a Revolution of ſome kind was inevitable, and that *M. de la Fayette* was the man, who from his ſituation, his principles, and the effect of circumſtances, muſt naturally be the leader of it, condeſcended to enter into a negotiation with him. His Majeſty flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to moderate the intemperance of his American notions, and to make him adopt a plan of Revolution, the effects of which might be reduced to all the improvements and neceſſary reforms that could be made without a convulſion. There was no ſacrifice which *Louis XVI.* was not diſpoſed to make, to preſerve France from the horrors of a civil war. The active and daily

daily correſpondence which he maintained on this ſubject with *M. de la Fayette*, and of which *M. de Montmorin* was the intermediate agent, had continued ſix weeks when the ſecret got wind. The object of this negotiation was too adverſe to the criminal views of the *Orleans* Faction not to rouſe them to the immediate employment of the moſt powerful means to overturn it, and they neglected none. From the moment it was known, the murmurs upon ſcarcity, and the bad quality of the bread, became daily more violent, the manœuvres of the factious more active, and the motions of the *Palais-Royal* more threatening: the women of the loweſt claſs and the workmen of the Fauxbourgs aſſembled, and talked of going to Verſailles to inſiſt upon having bread; in a word, the Capital was in a moſt dreadful ſtate of fermentation.

On Sunday the 4th of October, there was great agitation and diſorder at the flour-market. On the ſame day, ſome perſons who appeared in the *Champs Eliſées* and at the *Palais-Royal* with black cockades in their hats, were groſſly inſulted by the National Guards and the People: their cockades were torn out and trodden under foot, and it

was

was not without great difficulty that they ſaved their lives. The Commune on this occaſion iſſued an ordinance forbidding all perſons to wear any other cockade than a tri-coloured one.

The next morning by day-break the inſurrection began to ſhow itſelf. A young woman ſetting out from the neighbourhood of *St. Euſtache* went into a guard-room, whence ſhe took a drum, which ſhe beat round the ſtreets, crying at the ſame time, that there was no bread at the bakers' ſhops. Many women collected about her, and followed her to the *Hotel-de-Ville*. From the gate *St. Antoine* other mobs of women ſtill more numerous ſpread themſelves through the town, forcing all thoſe they met to go along with them: they hurried to the *Place-de-Grève*, crying out *Bread! Bread!* and deſired to ſpeak with the Repreſentatives of the Commune. It was then ſeven o'clock in the morning. At the *Hotel-de-Ville* there were only the Commiſſioners on duty, who had been there all night, and a ſmall detachment of the National Guard. But the *Place-de-Grève* was now nearly filled with an immenſe and furious populace, bawling to have a Baker given up to them, a man who

who had been arreſted and carried before the Committee of Police, on ſuſpicion of ſelling bread under weight. Already was the fatal lantern prepared with a rope, and the Baker would have been ſuſpended to it, had the Major-General of the National Guard been leſs dexterous than he was in taking advantage of a moment of confuſion and tumult to ſave this wretched man from death; at the ſame time he ſent an order to all the Diſtricts, to cauſe the moſt numerous detachments that could be aſſembled to march immediately to the *Place-de-Grève.*

Before this aſſiſtance arrived, the mobs of women attacked the Horſe-Guards who were poſted before the railing of the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and put them to flight. The Foot-Guards forming themſelves into a ſquare upon the ſteps, kept the women for a moment in awe by preſenting their bayonets: but a ſhower of ſtones very ſoon diſperſed this company, and the Furies made their way into the *Hotel-de-Ville.* They ran through all the apartments calling with dreadful imprecations for bread and for arms. They fell upon all the papers they found, and would have ſet them on fire, *Becauſe* (ſaid they) *they were the work of the*

the Repreſentatives of the Commune, all bad citizens who deſerved the lantern, Bailly and La Fayette at the head of them. Others went to the Armory. Men provided with axes, crows, and hammers joined them, broke open the doors, and ſeized all the muſkets and two pieces of cannon. The *Hotel-de-Ville* would have been ſet on fire, had not *Staniſlaus Maillard*, the man who had played a chief part in the attack of the Baſtille, ſucceeded at the riſk of his life in forcing from two of the women the burning links which they had brought to ſet fire to the papers and regiſters belonging to the Committees.

To Verſailles! to Verſailles! became the general cry of the populace, and particularly of the women. They ſaid they would go and aſk the King and the Aſſembly for bread. The intrepid *Maillard*, more turbulent than wicked, and conſtantly led by the deſire of gaining note in the popular commotions by ſome diſtinguiſhed part, went down to the door of the *Hotel-de-Ville* with a drum in his hand, aſſembled the women about him, harangued them, and ſucceeded ſo well in gaining their confidence, that they appointed him their Captain.

tain, upon condition that he led them to Verſailles. He had previouſly propoſed this meaſure to the Staff-Officers as the only one that could clear the *Place-de-Grève*, and facilitate the collecting a force neceſſary to reſtore order. *M. Dermigny*, the Adjutant-General, told him, that he could give him no ſuch commiſſion; but that he was at liberty to act as he pleaſed, provided he did not diſturb the public peace. He now thought that he was ſufficiently authoriſed to put himſelf at the head of this army of Amazons, or rather of Megæras, already intoxicated with brandy. They pitched upon the *Champs Eliſées* for their head-quarters, and the main body of the army repaired thither, while many detachments marched through the different quarters of the town raiſing recruits. They aſſembled to the number of about 6000, armed with clubs, pitchforks, pikes, muſkets, and piſtols, and they were almoſt all in rags ornamented with ribbons of different colours. At firſt they propoſed to go to the Arſenal, to provide themſelves with what ammunition and arms they wanted; but from this they were diverted by *Maillard*, who repreſented to them, that their plan being to

go to the Aſſembly to aſk them for juſtice and for bread, they would be much more certain of obtaining both by going as ſuppliants, than by preſenting themſelves with arms in their hands. Struck with the force of this reaſoning, they gave up the thought of going in queſt of more arms, and even conſented to leave thoſe they already had in Paris. At length they ſet out, preceded by eight or ten drums, and followed by a company of the Baſtille Volunteers, who were joined by ſome armed brigands, who never ceaſed exaſperating this ſenſeleſs mob againſt the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and againſt the Queen; pouring forth the moſt horrible execrations againſt her Majeſty, and openly anticipating her aſſaſſination. The women continued ſtopping and preſſing into their plan every body they met upon the road: they even forced many ladies, frightened out of their ſenſes to leave their carriages and walk with them to Verſailles.

Meanwhile, the alarm-bell which had been ringing many hours, and the drums beating to arms, put the whole town in motion: the citizens repaired in crowds to the Aſſemblies of their Diſtricts, the National Guards to their battalion, and the

companies of the Paid Guards*, called alſo the Companies of the Centre (formerly the French Guards), marched in order of battle to the *Place-de-Grève.* They were ſoon followed by detachments from all the Diſtricts, while an immenſe populace preſſed about them and ſtunned them with their clamours. *Bread!..Verſailles! Orders! Leaders!* were the only words that could be diſtinguiſhed amidſt their ſhouts.

The Repreſentatives of the Commune aſſembled were at a loſs what to do, and every minute increaſed the embarraſſment of their ſituation. *M. de la Fayette* was then at the *Hotel-de-Ville,* in the chamber where the Committee of Police were ſitting, and was dictating letters for the Aſſembly and for the Miniſters relative to the ſtate of the Capital. A deputation from ſix companies of grenadiers went up to him, and their ſpeaker addreſſed him thus: "General! we "do not believe you to be a traitor, but we "believe that the Government is betraying "us—it is time for all this to have an end. "We cannot turn our bayonets againſt "women who are aſking for bread. The "Committee of Subſiſtence are guilty, or

* La Garde Soldée.

" incapable of conducting their department;
" in either caſe they ought to be changed.
" The people are wretched, and the ſource
" of the evil is at Verſailles. We ought to
" go for the King and bring him to Paris;
" the Regiment of Flanders and the *Gardes*
" *du-Corps*, who have dared to tread the
" National cockade under foot, *ought to be*
" exterminated. If the King *is too weak to*
" wear his crown, let him lay it down:
" we will nominate his ſon, have a Re-
" gency, and things will go better."—
" What! (replied *M. de la Fayette*), do
" you mean to make war upon the King,
" and compel him to deſert us?"—" No,
" General, we ſhould be very ſorry for it,
" for we love him very much; but he will
" not quit us—though, if he did, we have
" the Dauphin." He harangued, exhorted, and conjured them in vain; they conſtantly anſwered, that the ſource of the evil was at Verſailles, that there they ought to go, and that all the people deſired it. He went down to the Square, and tried with as little ſucceſs to argue the Grenadiers into reaſon. He brought to their mind their oath to the Nation, to the Law, and to the King; but his voice was loſt amid the inceſſant ſhouts of, *To Verſailles, to Verſailles!*—M. Bailly, who

who had been ſent for by the Repreſentatives of the Commune to come and aſſiſt them with his counſel, arrived at this moment at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and was aſſailed by the ſame cries ſhouted at once by the National Guard and the People.

The longer the debate of the Repreſentatives of the Commune continued, the fermentation and general impatience became the more dreadful: to ſhouts ſucceeded threats and furious imprecations which were bellowed out againſt the Muncipality, and againſt *M. de la Fayette* himſelf; who recovered his popularity by ſhowing himſelf on horſeback at the head of his army, waiting the deciſion of the Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the Commune, to whom he had ſent ſeveral of his Aides-de-Camp, one after the other, to tell them that it was impoſſible for them to refuſe any longer the demand of the People. The Aſſembly, convinced in fact that a longer reſiſtance would be as dangerous as uſeleſs, reſolved at length to ſend *M. de la Fayette* the following order:

" On conſidering the circumſtances and " the deſire of the People, and upon the " repreſentation of the Commander in Chief

" that it was impoſſible to refuſe it; the " Aſſembly not only authoriſe but order " the Commander in Chief to proceed to " Verſailles." At the ſame time they appointed from the Commune four Commiſſioners to accompany the army. The General, in conſequence, gave the order for marching, and he was anſwered by the army and the people with the loudeſt ſhouts of joy.

The advanced guard conſiſted of three companies of grenadiers and one of the fuſileers. They carried with them three field pieces, and were preceded by ſeven or eight hundred men armed with guns and pikes. The main body marched in three columns, with artillery and baggage waggons. In the ranks there were none but National Guards; but between the companies were a great number of ragged vagabonds, oddly armed, and almoſt all ſtrangers, but naturaliſed by the Revolution, and promoted, as plunderers, to the dignity of patriot, and to all its prerogatives. This army was attended to the barrier by ſhouts of applauſe: the public joy ſeemed to be complete; but no ſooner were the tri-coloured ſtandards out of ſight, and the drums out of hearing, than diſaſ-

trous

trous forebodings, gloomy anxieties, and a profound and general ſadneſs ſeized upon the Pariſians, and the moſt melancholy ſilence ſucceeded the clamorous tranſports of joy and fury. Mothers and wives dreaded, ſometimes the dangers to which their children and their huſbands might be expoſed, and ſometimes the crimes in which they might be made to participate. It was aſked, with groans, what were they gone to Verſailles to do? I was that day at Verſailles, and what was done there I ſhall now relate *.

The King had gone to Meudon to hunt. At half after one o'clock *M. de St. Prieſt* wrote a letter to *M. de Larbouſt*, one of the King's equerries, informing him that a great number of women, followed by a crowd of armed workmen, were on their way from Paris to Verſailles, and that it was neceſſary the King ſhould be appriſed of it in time, to return before they arrived. The Mar-

* I ſhall relate not only what I ſaw, but the principal facts that were judicially proved in the proceedings at the Châtelet, upon the crimes of the 5th and 6th of October 1789; they are lying before me, together with the complete inveſtigation of them, made by *M. de Blaire*, in his excellent work, entitled "*The Crimes of the 6th of October.*"

quis *de Cubieres*, who was then at *M. de Larbouſt's*, immediately mounted his horſe to carry *M. de St. Prieſt's* letter to the King; and he was ſcarcely arrived at Meudon when a Chevalier of *St. Louis**, who had been on the Paris road, was preſented to his Majeſty, threw himſelf on his knees, and told him, that having on his way to Paris met a large body of people, armed with pikes, guns, and bludgeons, he had returned with the utmoſt ſpeed to inform the King of it, adding, "I beſeech your "Majeſty not to be afraid." "Afraid!" replied the King, "I never was afraid in "my life." The Officer made an offer of his ſervices, and ſwore that he was ready to defend him to the laſt drop of his blood. The King was much affected, and thanked him, then mounted his horſe to return to Verſailles. "I underſtand," ſaid his Majeſty to his attendants, "that there has been "ſome tumult in the market, and that the "Paris women are coming to aſk me for "bread. Alas! had I it in my power, I "ſhould not wait till they came to aſk for "it."

* *M. de la Deveſe*, a Nobleman of Dauphiné.

The

The news of the brigands being on their way ſpread alarm through Verſailles. The drums beat to arms. The *Gardes-du-Corps* were ordered to mount their horſes; thoſe on duty repaired to the Palace, and four detachments were ordered to go by different roads to meet the King, who had very few guards with him, but they had hardly ſet out when his Majeſty arrived. The Count of *Luxembourg* immediately aſked him, if he had any orders to give for the guards.—"What! againſt women?" replied the King with a ſmile; "you are laughing at me." The ſame queſtion was put to him relative to the carriages: his Majeſty anſwered, that he had no occaſion for them. At that time it was ſuppoſed, that only the women led by *Maillard*, followed by ſome ill-armed men, were coming. *M. de la Fayette*, who was at firſt reſolved not to leave Paris, thought he had ſufficient influence to reſtrain the National Guard. He depended upon it ſo much, even after he had experienced his want of power over the Grenadiers, that he choſe that moment for ſending a Repreſentative of the Commune to Verſailles, with diſpatches to the Aſſembly and to the Miniſter, to inform them of his

his hopes of a ſpeedy re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity in the Capital *.

I am willing to believe that *M. de la Fayette*, whoſe preſumption had ſo often deceived him, was alſo deceived in this inſtance, and that he was ſincere in the hopes he expreſſed to the Court. But could he be ſtill miſtaken, when, in a quarter of an hour afterwards, he found himſelf obliged to apply to the Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the Commune, for the order to lead to Verſailles an army in fury, of which he was far leſs the Commander than the docile inſtrument? Was he ſimple enough to flatter himſelf that he ſhould be better obeyed at Verſailles than at Paris? Was he ſo blinded as not to foreſee the enormities, at the head of which he was about to be compelled to figure? "What would you have had him do?" ſaid all his friends the next day. What would I have had him do? I will not anſwer, *that he*

* See the *Moniteur*, No. 70, of the 9th and 10th of October, and many other papers. It was likewiſe ſaid, in the following No. of the *Moniteur*, that thoſe deſpatches, which were ſent from Paris at half after two o'clock, did not arrive at Verſailles till after eight at night.

ſhould

ſhould have died—his death would have been of no uſe; but he might at leaſt have laid down a command of which he was incapable; he ought eſpecially, and in the firſt place, to have informed the King of his ſituation, and to have prevented the fatal effects of the ſecurity into which he had lulled his Majeſty by the diſpatches he had ſent by the Repreſentative of the Commune. Among the numerous Aides-de-Camp around him, he might eaſily have found three or four ſufficiently intelligent and zealous to have executed this commiſſion perfectly well. Had the Court been informed, as ſoon as it might have been, of the march of ſo formidable an army, the King would not have been ſo imprudent as to have waited for it at Verſailles; he would have ſet out with his family for Compiegne. The very next day he might have adjourned the Aſſembly to Soiſſons or to Tours; and that removal, the motives of which all France would have applauded, would have ſaved every thing. But as only women and ſome badly armed brigands were expected, it was thought enough to ſhut the iron gates of the Palace, and to draw up on the *Place d'Armes* the regiment of Flanders, the Rangers of the

Trois

Trois Evêchés, the *Gardes-du-Corps*, Monsieur's Guards, thoſe of the Count *d'Artois*, and a ſquadron of horſe. The barracks, formerly belonging to the French Guards, were occupied by ſome companies of the National Guards of Verſailles.

The Count *d'Eſtaing* read a requiſition of the Municipality to the troops, which enjoined them to aſſiſt, in conjunction with the National Guards of Verſailles, to quell any diſorder that might be committed by the multitude that was coming from Paris.

It was very natural that the members of the Committee of Montrouge ſhould be ſooner and better informed than any body of the commotions of the Capital, and their object, as it was commonly by their Agents that they were excited; but *Mirabeau's* conduct in the Aſſembly, four hours before the brigands arrived, was very remarkable. In the midſt of the debate upon the King's Anſwer, and on the denunciation of the entertainment given by the *Gardes-du-Corps*, he went up to the Preſident, and, ſpeaking in a low voice, ſaid to him, "Mr. Preſident, forty thouſand armed men are on "their way from Paris: hurry the debate "break up the Sitting—pretend to be ill,

or

" or ſay that you are going to the King." —" I never hurry the debates," replied *Mounier* coldly, " I think they are but too " often hurried through."—" But, Mr. Pre- " ſident, thoſe forty thouſand men!"—" So " much the better, they have but to kill us " all—all, do you underſtand me? and the " buſineſs of the State would go on the " better for it."—" That's prettily ſaid, " Mr. Preſident."

The King's intereſt was certainly out of the queſtion in this requeſt of *Mirabeau*'s, whoſe ſhocking conduct that day and the next does not leave even a ſhadow of doubt reſpecting it. He had therefore another object in view, and it could only be that of frightening the King into the determination of leaving Verſailles: there is no doubt that it was not that day a part of the project of the Conſpirators to murder the Royal Family; but the King's flight would have facilitated, and might even have been the grounds of the appointment of the Duke of *Orleans* to the office of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, which was ever the chief object of this Faction. *Mounier* knew this well, and the indifference of his reply diſconcerted *Mirabeau*.

About

About three o'clock in the afternoon the phalanx of women began to make their appearance in the avenue. Their advanced guard ſtopped for ſome moments oppoſite to the building where the Aſſembly were ſitting. *Maillard*, who was ſtill at their head, took only fifteen of them with him into the Hall. The others all inſiſted upon going in with him, and it was with great difficulty he at length prevailed upon them to wait quietly till he returned. They went on to the *Place d'Armes*, where they were greatly aſtoniſhed to find battalions of infantry and ſquadrons of horſe preſenting an impenetrable front.

Maillard preſented himſelf at the Bar with his retinue, and ſet forth that for three days paſt there had abſolutely been no bread in Paris. "We are come to Verſailles (added "he) to aſk for ſome, and, at the ſame "time, to have the *Gardes-du-Corps* puniſh-"ed for having inſulted the patriotic cock-"ade. The Ariſtocrats want to ſtarve us. "This very day a note of 200 livres was "ſent to a Miller, deſiring him not to "grind corn, and promiſing him a like ſum "every week."

He

He was called upon from every part of the Hall to name him. "I cannot (he re-" plied) name either the denounced or the " denouncers, becauſe I know neither one " nor the other; but three perſons, whom " we met this morning in a carriage be-" longing to Verſailles, told me that a cler-" gyman intended to denounce this crime to " the National Aſſembly. I beſeech you, " in order to reſtore peace, to calm the " general effervescence and prevent miſ-" chief, to ſend a deputation to the *Gardes-" du-Corps* to perſuade them to take the " National cockade, and to make ſome re-" paration for the inſult offered to it."

He then inveighed violently againſt the black cockades, took one out of his pocket which he pretended had been taken from an Ariſtocrat, tore it in a rage, and trampled it under his feet. The coarſeneſs of ſome of his expreſſions drew from the Preſident an injunction not to forget the reſpect he owed o the Aſſembly: "All who wiſh to be ' citizens (added the Preſident) may be ſo ' of their own accord, but none have a ' right to force them."

Maillard replied, "There is nobody who ' would not be honoured by that title; and " if

" if any Member of *this auguſt Diet could*
" think himſelf diſhonoured *by it*, he ought
" to be immediately expelled." The Hall reſounded with ſhouts of applauſe at this anſwer, and many voices repeated, *Yes, yes, all ought to be ſo, we are all citizens.*

Several Deputies called out that the reports ſpread reſpecting the *Gardes-du-Corps* were falſe, and at the ſame time a National cockade was given to *Maillard* on the part of the Guards; he ſhowed it to the women about him as a token of the pacific diſpoſition of that corps, and in an inſtant they all ſhouted *Vive le Roi! Vivent les Gardes-du-Corps!*

The ſpeaker was then interrupted by the clamours of ſome other women who had forced their way into the Hall, and who, mounted upon benches, were crying out all at once for bread, the diſmiſſion of the Regiment of Flanders, and the puniſhment of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and were uttering the moſt horrid imprecations againſt the Queen. Some were contemptuouſly familiar in their expreſſions, and inſulted the Deputies, particularly thoſe of the Order of the Clergy; deſiring them to hold their tongues, or, in a ſtyle at once imperious and familiar,

commanding

commanding them to ſpeak:—*Come, Deputy, do you ſpeak. Deputy, hold you your tongue.* During this ſcandalous ſcene, too diſguſting to be more minutely detailed, the Aſſembly charged the Preſident to go immediately to the Palace, at the head of a Deputation, and repreſent the calamitous ſituation of Paris to the King.

The moment that the Preſident (*Mounier*) and the Deputation appeared out of the Hall, they were ſurrounded by a crowd of women, who declared in the moſt poſitive terms that they would go with them to the King; while a party of men armed with pikes, hatchets and clubs drew round the Deputation, to ſerve as an eſcort for them. *Mounier*, after much ſolicitation, prevailed upon them to conſent that only ſix women ſhould go to the King with the Deputation; but when they arrived at the Palace it was impoſſible to reſtrain them to that number, and with great difficulty they were reduced to twelve.

At the *Place d'Armes* the women who remained there began to abuſe the troops; but as theſe did not ſeem to pay the leaſt attention to them, their threats were dropped. Soon, however, finding themſelves ſupported

by all the populace of Verſailles, they proceeded to violence againſt the *Gardes-du-Corps*, who, ſcattered through the town, and not receiving information all at the ſame time, were going one by one to join their corps. Thoſe who went firſt met no obſtacle, but they that went after the crowd of people armed with pikes had increaſed and become more audacious from the inaction of the troops, were inſulted and attacked. A pike thrown by a young man at one of the Guards went between the legs of his horſe, and made him fall. The mob inſtantly ruſhed upon him, and would infallibly have murdered him had he not been ſaved by an officer of the National Guards of Verſailles, named *Deſroches*. That brave man, exaſperated at ſo unprovoked an attack, collared the aggreſſor with the intention of ſending him to priſon; but the people forced him out of his hands. This firſt ſucceſs, and ſtill more the certainty of the King's having forbidden the Guards to fire, and recommended the greateſt mildneſs to them, infinitely increaſed the inſolence of the brigands. Depending upon being able to do every thing with impunity, they now took it into their heads to force the ranks of the *Gardes-du-Corps*. They went

up

up to their horſes, and when by frightening them they had put the troop into diſorder, they attempted to go in among them. The prudence of the Guards, and their continual attention to cloſing their ranks, fruſtrated all thoſe attempts, till a man in the uniform of the National Guard of Paris perceiving a ſpace between the horſes at the head of the troop, puſhed into the ranks with a ſword in his hand, followed by eight or ten women. This frightened the horſes ſo much that it was impoſſible to prevent the man from paſſing. Three Officers of the corps went after him, and, giving him a blow or two on his back with the flat part of their ſwords, left him: but ſcarcely had they faced about to return to their ſtation, when they were fired at; one of them (*M. de Savonnieres*) received a ſhot that broke his arm. At the ſame inſtant three pieces of cannon, loaded with caniſter-ſhot, were pointed againſt the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and the matches ſeveral times applied to the touch-holes--though without effect, owing to the rain: at this time ſome perſons were heard to utter theſe remarkable words, *Stop; it is not yet time.*

M. de Savonnieres, on returning into the ranks among his comrades, thought only of repreſſing their reſentment. "You muſt "not," ſaid he to them, "think of me, but of "the King and of the Royal Family; may "they eſcape the danger that threatens "them! Remember, my friends, that the "ſlighteſt imprudence might endanger their "lives." Theſe words were enough to reſtrain them: thoſe brave officers, though ſo greatly exaſperated, did not heſitate a moment to make a ſacrifice of their feelings to the King; but their heroic moderation did but increaſe the audacity and the number of the aſſaſſins.

The Regiment of Flanders was treated in a much more ignominious manner; a number of brazen women, among whom was ſeen the notorious *Theroigne de Mericourt*, forced their way into their ranks with money in their hands, which the officers could not prevent, and purchaſed at a very paltry price the ſhame and inaction of the ſoldiers.

While on the *Place d'Armes* the *Gardes-du-Corps* were bearing the hootings, abuſes, and continual attacks of a mad mob, ſuch of them as had been ſent to the Avenue to reconnoitre,

connoitre, and thoſe who were ordered to join the picket of Rangers ſtationed oppoſite the Hall of the National Aſſembly, were purſued and fired upon. The detachments which had been to meet the King were received on their return with a ſhower of ſtones and ſeveral muſket-ſhot.

The women who had gone into the Palace with the Deputation from the Aſſembly, were extremely affected at the ſenſibility ſhown by the King on hearing the account of the pretended want of the Metropolis. One of them, whoſe name was *Louiſa Chabry*, a young woman of ſeventeen years of age, who worked at a carver's, and who was commiſſioned to repreſent the grievances of the Pariſians to his Majeſty, could not ſupport the emotion of tenderneſs or timidity ſhe felt, and fainted. Every thing was done to recover her; as ſhe was going away ſhe wiſhed to kiſs the King's hand; but his Majeſty, ſaying kindly to her *that ſhe deſerved better than that*, did her the honour to kiſs her lips. They all retired well ſatisfied, crying in the court, *Vive le Roi! God bleſs the King and his family! To-morrow we ſhall have bread.*

The multitude crowded on the Square would not give credit to their report: ſcarcely had they got to the Miniſter's Court when they were ſaluted with ſhouts, or rather with howlings. "The jades have received "money," was the cry; "if they do not "bring a writing from the King, they muſt "be hanged." Two of the women who accuſed them ſeized one of them, and put their garters round her neck to hang her at the firſt lamp. She cries to the *Gardes-du-Corps* for aſſiſtance; the officer ſtationed at the iron-gate flies to her aſſiſtance, diſengages her, and puts her back into the Royal Court with the other women who had accompanied the Deputation of the Aſſembly to the Palace. They beſeech him to conduct them back to the King; he yields to their ſolicitations; and his Majeſty alſo conſents to give them an order, ſigned by himſelf, to cauſe corn to be ſent from Senlis and from Lagni, and to remove all the obſtacles in ſupplying Paris with proviſions.

It would not be eaſy to deſcribe the tranſports of joy ſhown by theſe women, carrying in triumph this writing of the King's, dancing, and ſhowing it to the brigands, who

who already began to fill the Miniſters' Court. The treatment they now received made them amends for the outrages they had experienced a few minutes before. In a ſhort time there was nothing talked of in the Courts and *Place d'Armes*, but the paternal kindneſs of *Louis XVI.* Repeated acclamations of *Vive le Roi!* expreſſed the gratitude of this portion of *Maillard*'s army, who had been led away by the brigands, and who thought they were only come to Verſailles to aſk for bread. Such was the ſincerity of theſe women, that, after thoſe who had ſeen the King had related the ſucceſs of their embaſſy to their companions, they propoſed to go and carry the news to Paris; and in ſpite of the oppoſition of ſeveral villains, who cried that there was an order for remaining, they went in ſearch of their General *Maillard*, and about forty of them ſet off with him in the carriages which the King had ordered to be got ready for them.

Nor had their credulity been leſs abuſed reſpecting the *Gardes-du-Corps*. They were ſurpriſed on coming out of the *Oeil-de-Boeuf* to ſee that they had all white cockades, and aſked them the reaſon of it. On being anſwered,

ſwered, that they had never given up the white cockade, which was a part of their uniform, the women cried out, "How "baſely we have been deceived! We were "told that you had only black ones; we "looked as we came, and ſaw that you had "all white cockades."

M. de St. Prieſt, ſeeing that the populace and National Guard of Verſailles had joined the brigands of Paris, and that the protection of the Royal Family was reduced to a ſmall number of *Gardes-du-Corps*, and to the Regiment of Flanders, which was already half corrupted, went to the King, painted with the utmoſt energy a ſituation ſo perilous, and propoſed to him, as the only means of ſafety, to ſet out in an hour at fartheſt with his family for Rambouillet. At the ſame time he laid before his Majeſty a detail of the orders to be given, and of the meaſures to be taken to ſecure the execution of this plan, and to prevent all the dangers of it.

The King's natural repugnance to all haſty reſolutions making him heſitate to adopt that which *M. de St. Prieſt* propoſed to him, that Miniſter, as zealous as faithful, threw himſelf at his Majeſty's feet with his face

face to the ground, and ſaid as he embraced them—" Sire, I am ſo fully convinced that " all is loſt if you reject the part I have juſt " propoſed to you, that I will not quit this " ſpot unleſs your Majeſty promiſes me to " follow it."—" But riſe then, *M. de St.* " *Prieſt*," ſaid the King to him, putting out his hand. "No, Sire," ſaid he, " I will not " riſe till you give the promiſe I ſolicit." —" Well! I do."—" I go this inſtant " then," replied *M. de St. Prieſt* riſing, " to give the neceſſary orders, and I " ſhall haſten to wait for your Majeſty at " the end of the Park."

Soon after, the alarm of the Royal Family was allayed by the acclamations of *Vive le Roi!* which were heard in the Court when the women returned with the anſwer written by his Majeſty, and by the hopes given by the diſpatches that had been juſt received from *M. de la Fayette*, reſpecting the probable re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity in Paris. The carriages were countermanded, and the King ſent word of it to *M. de St. Prieſt*, who was already ſet out. It was alſo hoped that calm might be reſtored at Verſailles by withdrawing the troops, and the King gave orders for it. Count *d'Eſtaing* carried

carried it himſelf to the National Guard of Verſailles; and as it was the firſt time they had ſeen their Commander that day, they reproached him ſeverely for having deſerted his poſt at the moſt critical moment. Several companies immediately obeyed the General's order; but the greater number, ſeeing the *Gardes-du-Corps* remain on the *Place d'Armes*, declared they would not move till they had ſeen them file off. The brigands did not partake of this uneaſineſs. Satisfied with having ſeen the *Gardes-du-Corps* return their ſwords to their ſcabbards when they heard the cries of *Vive le Roi*, they were teſtifying their content by repeated huzzas, at the time that the order for retreat arrived.

The company of *Noailles*, which formed the rear-guard, had ſcarcely begun to march down the avenue of Sceaux, when the hootings and abuſe recommenced, and were ſoon followed by a conſiderable diſcharge of muſketry, which wounded ſeveral of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and killed one of their horſes. It would have been eaſy for them to have taken ſignal vengeance for ſo atrocious an act of hoſtility; but, obedient to their orders, they contented themſelves with cloſing their ranks,

ranks, and retreated in good order. It is almoſt neceſſary to have been a witneſs to theſe ſcenes of horror, to be able to believe that that baſe and unprovoked diſcharge was made by the National Guard of Verſailles *only*. Yes, by thoſe very men on whom, three days before, the *Gardes-du-Corps* had laviſhed, and from whom they had received, the moſt affectionate marks of friendſhip and good-will.

While the *Gardes-du-Corps* were thus fired upon, ſuch of their comrades as were upon duty within the Palace, being informed of the hoſtile intentions of the National Guards of Verſailles, but not imagining that they could go to ſuch exceſs, reſolved to ſend them a Deputation to aſſure them of their pacific inclinations, to offer them their friendſhip, and requeſt theirs. The Count of *Luxembourg*, accompanied by ſeveral ſuperior officers, brigadiers and guards, had actually ſet out to execute this commiſſion, when Count *d'Eſtaing* being informed of it ran to meet them. "Whither are you "going?" ſaid he. "If you ſtir out you "will be all murdered: it is impoſſible to "make thoſe furies liſten to reaſon; your "comrades

" comrades have juſt been fired upon. I " have myſelf been abuſed and threatened, " and it is with much difficulty I have eſ- " caped their fury."

A captain of the National Guard who had ſerved in the *Gardes-du-Corps*, ſoon after confirmed the ſad account which *M. d'Eſtaing* had given them. " I am juſt come from " their barracks," ſaid he; " they are not " men, but wild beaſts; their fury againſt " you is at its height. For God's ſake do " not go out! The firſt of you that is ſo im- " prudent will be maſſacred: all the decent " men and almoſt all the officers have left " them. When I attempted to ſay ſome- " thing in your favour, they reſolved to " carry me to the lantern, and it was with " great difficulty I ſaved myſelf." Count *d'Albignac*, at the head of the regiment on the *Place d'Armes*, had ſome time before received the ſame intelligence from another officer of the National Guard.

In a few minutes after the *Gardes-du-Corps* had returned to their hotel, it was reported that a project was formed of going to beſiege them there with cannon. As it was not tenable, the Duke *de Guiche* determined that the corps ſhould mount their horſes.

He

He might without danger have led them out of the town—but that would have been leaving the King; and the ambition of thoſe faithful guards, and of their worthy commander*, was to make a rampart of their bodies round the Royal Family. His Majeſty had reſtrained their courage, but he had not forbidden them to ſurround him: the reſolution therefore of returning to the Palace was adopted without heſitation; and that they might not give the National Guards of Verſailles an opportunity or a pretence for committing new hoſtilities, they went round through the ſtreet *de l'Orangerie* and up that of *la Surintendance* to the Miniſters' Court, where they drew up; but thoſe who on leaving the *Place d'Armes* had gone to the Hotel *de Charoſt* were diſperſed in the town, or blockaded in their ſtables, and but very few of them could make their way to the Miniſters' Court. In a poſition ſo diſadvantageous for a ſquadron of horſe, they

* The conduct of the Duke *de Guiche* on the fatal days of the 5th and 6th of October merits the higheſt eulogiums: he was conſtantly with the *Gardes-du-Corps*, ſhared all their dangers, and ſhewed himſelf to be truly worthy of being their commander by his courage, and by his zeal for the King.

waited

waited a long while for orders, which they repeatedly requeſted, and which they at length received, to march to the terrace in front of the Queen's apartment. They filed off one by one under the Princes' arch, and drew up upon the terrace. It was full time for them to retreat; already were the cannon pointed againſt them, and the brigands, who were upon the *Place d'Armes* and in the barracks, might have fired upon them through the iron-railing, which was their intention. This was known at the Palace, as well as that the *Gardes-du-Corps* had been attacked, and every one trembled for the lives of the King and Queen. In this moment of trouble and alarm, ſome of their Majeſties' moſt faithful ſervants haſtened to the ſtables, where they found carriages ready, and horſes that had not been unharneſſed: they endeavoured to carry them out by the Orangery and Dragoon Gates; but it was no longer time to think of retreating; all the gates were guarded by the National Guards of Verſailles, who were now become an auxiliary troop to the brigands. The carriages were ſtopped, and led back to the ſtables.

The Deputation of the Aſſembly who had gone

gone to the King accompanied by the twelve women, had executed only a part of their commiſſion. They did not think it their duty to ſpeak to his Majeſty before them of Conſtitutional Articles and of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the pure and unconditional acceptance of which the Aſſembly had charged them to demand. The Preſident had only informed the King, that he had to requeſt an hour to be appointed for ſpeaking to him upon an important ſubject, and his Majeſty had appointed nine o'clock in the evening. It was near ten when the King admitted them. Beſieged in his palace, his ears aſſailed in his apartments by the imprecations and menaces of a mad mob; flattering himſelf perhaps to reſtore calm by yielding to the deſire of the Aſſembly, he gave his aſſent to what was demanded, and charged the Preſident to aſſemble all his colleagues, to inform them that his Majeſty wiſhed to conſult them on the ſteps to be taken, on the uneaſy ſituation in which he was, and that he invited them to come to the Palace.

At this moment a conſiderable group of the Pariſian women and men, armed with pikes, arrived on the Eſplanade, where the

mob were diſputing about one of the *Gardes-du-Corps* (*M. de Moucheton*), whom they wanted to behead. Luckily for him, the officer upon guard propoſed that he ſhould be tried before he was executed, and immediately formed a kind of Court Martial, in which he took care to call in as judges thoſe who appeared the moſt eager to play the part of executioners. He harangued them a long time, endeavouring to moderate their fury; but ſentence of death was unanimouſly paſſed. The Court broke up, and the Judges haſtened eagerly to ſeize upon their victim: but he had been got away during the Court Martial, and ſafely lodged in the Surgery of the French Guards. The rage of the brigands now turned againſt his deliverer: ſome thought he ought to undergo the puniſhment intended for the *Garde-du-Corps*; others endeavoured to exculpate him. While they were debating the point, he found means to eſcape, leaving behind the *Garde-du-Corps'* horſe; and the furies glutted at once their vengeance and their hunger upon the unfortunate animal, which was half-roaſted and devoured.

Before the Deputies, a great number of whom had left the Hall, could be collected, *M. de la Fayette* arrived at the head of his army.

army. He made them halt before the Hall of the Aſſembly, and adminiſtered to the National Guard the oath of being faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the King. His apprehenſions being entirely removed by the apparent cordiality with which this oath was taken, he entered the Aſſembly, where his arrival had been previouſly announced by one of his aides-de-camp. He found the Hall almoſt entirely occupied by the Paris mob, who were ſitting with the Deputies, and who, pretending that they had not eaten any thing for four-and-twenty hours, had by their clamours forced the Aſſembly to diſtribute among them bread, wine, and ſauſages*. *M. de la Fayette* went up to

* At this Sitting a Deputation of Galley Slaves from Toulon, who owed their liberty to the Decrees that had been paſſed relative to the Salt Duty, and to the offences againſt the Game Laws, appeared at the Bar at eleven o'clock at night, to offer to the Repreſentatives of the Nation their arms, and all in their power for the defence of the Conſtitution and of Liberty. The auguſt Aſſembly accepted their offers, and decreed, that honourable mention ſhould be made of them upon the Journals. It muſt be allowed, that at that time there were not more than twenty Deputies in the Hall, and that thoſe were, no doubt, not the leaſt worthy of receiving ſuch a Deputation.

the Preſident, and aſſured him he need have no apprehenſions as to the conſequences of that day; that he had ſeveral times ſworn the ſoldiers to remain faithful to the King and to the National Aſſembly, to obey them, and neither to do nor ſuffer any violence.—"What then," ſaid the Preſident to him, "is the object of ſuch a viſit, and what "does your army want?"—"Whatever be "its motive for coming," replied the General, "having promiſed to obey the King "and the National Aſſembly, it will impoſe no conditions: however, in order "to aſſiſt in removing the diſcontent of the "people, it would perhaps be adviſeable to "ſend the Regiment of Flanders away, and "that the King ſhould ſay ſomething in fa"vour of the Patriotic cockade." He then left the Aſſembly to go to the Palace, where he arrived at a quarter before eleven. After being near half-an-hour in the King's Cabinet, he came out and ſaid to thoſe in the *Oeil de Bœuf*:—"*I have perſuaded him to* "*make ſome ſacrifices in order to ſave* "*him.*" Then turning to the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and preſſing ſeveral of them by the hand, he ſaid to them—"Gentlemen! every "thing

" thing is ſettled; the King conſents that " thoſe who were formerly the French " Guards ſhould reſume their poſts, and it " is his Majeſty's intention that you ſhould " wear the National cockade to-morrow."

Soon after *M. de la Fayette* had left the Palace, the Members of the Aſſembly whom his Majeſty had invited appeared: but the arrival of the National Guard of Paris, the aſſurances given by their Commander-in-chief, and the arrangements agreed upon with him, had entirely changed the face of affairs. In ſhort, the Aſſembly came much later than they ought to have done, and their dilatorineſs in repairing to the King at ſo critical a moment, doubtleſs merited the ſevereſt reproaches; but his Majeſty contented himſelf with making them feel it with the utmoſt mildneſs. " I wiſhed," ſaid the King to thoſe Gentlemen, " circumſtanced " as I am, to be ſurrounded by the Repre- " ſentatives of the Nation, and I ſent you " word that it was my deſire to ſee the " Marquis *de la Fayette* in your preſence, " that I might have availed myſelf of your " counſels; but he came before you, and " I have nothing more to ſay to you, except

" that I have had no intention to go away,
" and that I ſhall never remove from the
" National Aſſembly."

Scarcely were the Deputies retired, when the regiment formerly the French Guards marched with their drums beating to the Miniſters' Court, where they drew up, and ſoon after took poſſeſſion of the poſts they had occupied previous to their defection. They required alſo that the gate of the Princes' Court, which as well as all the others of the Palace had been kept locked ſince the arrival of the brigands, ſhould be opened as it was formerly, to make a free entrance into the garden. The Officer of the *Gardes-du-Corps* ſtationed at that gate (*M. de Luillier*) would not allow it to be opened before he received orders for ſo doing. He went up to the King's apartments, and gave an account of the circumſtance to the Major of the *Gardes-du-Corps*; who having received the order from the Captain of the Quarter, permitted that gate to be opened, in ſpite of all that *M. de Luillier* could ſay to ſhow the danger of it. The aſſurances given by *M. de la Fayette* had ſo lulled all apprehenſions, that the moſt neceſſary precautions were unfortunately conſidered as needleſs.

The

The poſts being all thus relieved, the Pariſian Army, exceſſively fatigued, thought no longer but of finding places where they might go to reſt. Several of the inhabitants and the National Guards of Verſailles were eager to ſhow their hoſpitality to their brethren in arms. Thoſe who could find no lodgings at private houſes, retired with their battalions to ſome of the churches and public buildings to paſs the remainder of the night. One of their detachments took up its quarters in the Hotel of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, where there were not more than twenty of the latter remaining. The mob were ſcattered among the public-houſes, and wherever elſe they could find ſhelter. The brigands as they retired continued vociferating their imprecations againſt the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and declaring beforehand that they would next day hang them all up to the lanterns. *M. de la Fayette* muſt certainly have been ignorant, or muſt have deſpiſed theſe threats; for at that very time he was telling the King, "that by aſſenting "to the Declaration of the Rights of Man "and the Conſtitutional Articles, and by "permitting the former French Guards to "return to their old poſts, his Majeſty had

37580

" allayed the fermentation; that the People " were tranquil, and that the army would " march back next morning by break of- " day. *I beſeech your Majeſty* (added he) " *to go to bed, and to repoſe fully on my* " *care*—I WILL BE ANSWERABLE FOR " ALL."

Upon ſuch poſitive aſſurances heard and atteſted by the Duke *de Guiche*, the latter at two o'clock in the morning went and joined the detachment which he had left upon the Terrace fronting the Orangery, and led them to Trianon. All perſons who had come into the Royal apartments were ſent out; and their Majeſties, full of confidence in the promiſes and activity of *M. de la Fayette*, went to bed without uneaſineſs, or at leaſt without ſhowing any, in a Palace ſurrounded with brigands and murderers, who, far from ſleeping, were increaſing their ferocity by wine. The Aſſembly, likewiſe convinced by *M. de la Fayette* that order and tranquillity would be maintained, broke up at his requeſt; and this General, upon whoſe care every body was to repoſe, took no other care than that of going to bed himſelf, and ſleeping very ſoundly. Hiſtory in recording this ſleep, the conſequences of which

were ſo diſaſtrous, will never be able to explain the problem, but by accuſing *M. de la Fayette* of the moſt horrible perfidy, or of the moſt ſtupid want of foreſight. I do not heſitate to place it to the latter account, which I truly believe to be the real ground for cenſure. *M. de la Fayette*, miſled by the Revolutionary mania, by extravagant and ill-digeſted ideas of liberty, had the misfortune to look too frequently with favourable eyes on the French Revolution, and to find a fair ſide for almoſt every atrocity; as through a priſm we ſee the moſt hideous objects in beautiful colours. This defect of his mind, more perhaps than of his heart, was the principal cauſe of all the evil he has done, or ſuffered to be done.

Amid crimes, alarms, confuſion, and general ſtupor, the Queen majeſtically diſplayed the ſublimeſt and moſt heroic character: her conſtant ſerenity, her countenance firm and ever full of dignity, transfuſed her own courage into the ſoul of all who approached her. On that day ſhe received a great deal of company. To ſome who expreſſed uneaſineſs, ſhe replied: "I "know they are come from Paris to de- "mand my head; but I learned of my

" mother not to fear death, and I will wait " for it with firmneſs." Her anſwer to the advice that was given to her, to fly from the dangers that threatened her, does not leſs deſerve to be recorded.—" No, no," ſaid ſhe; " never will I deſert the King and " my children, I will ſhare whatever fate " awaits them." At one time a perſon whom nobody knew coming into the room where the Queen was, her Majeſty broke off the converſation inſtantly, and changed it to another ſubject, and afterwards ſaid in a low voice to a Deputy of the Nobility of Burgundy who was near her: " I turned " the converſation, becauſe I ſaw a valet- " de-chambre of the Duke of *Orleans*; I " do not know how he got in here."

Two hundred gentlemen, among whom were ſeveral Members of the Aſſembly, being determined to try every thing to ſave the Royal Family, and not being able to flatter themſelves that they could be of any aſſiſtance to them but by forming a body of horſe, ſent between eleven and twelve o'clock, by the means of *Madam Elizabeth*, to beg the Queen for an order for horſes from her ſtables. Her Majeſty with her own hand wrote the following order, and

ſent

ſent it to the Preſident *de Frondeville*:— "I order two hundred horſes to be got "ready for *M. de Luxembourg*, to be em- "ployed as he ſhall think proper if the "King's life be in the leaſt danger; but if "I only am in danger, no uſe ſhall be "made of the preſent order."

During the ten dreadful hours through which this auguſt Princeſs, this wonderful Heroine, had to ſupport the moſt difficult and moſt fatiguing character, her courage and her preſence of mind never forſook her for a moment. Some hours of ſleep happily came to repair her exhauſted ſtrength, and to enable her to encounter on the next day, with equal magniminity, dangers ſtill more horrid.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Outrages committed on the 6th of October.

IN the courſe of the night preceding this execrable day, the *Place d'Armes*, and the avenue from Paris as far as the Hall where the Aſſembly were ſitting, were lighted by great fires, around which vaſt numbers of women and brigands were ſeen eating and drinking. Others had taken ſhelter in the Guard-houſe upon the *Place d'Armes*; and the reſt ſpent the night in the Hall of the Aſſembly, which was filled with them. The Deputies were mixed among them, and endeavoured to continue their debates. The Aſſembly attempted in this nocturnal and tumultuous

tumultuous ſitting to enter upon the diſcuſſion of the criminal laws. Certainly a ſubject more adapted to circumſtances could not have been choſen. Never had there been more urgent occaſion for ſevere and effectual laws againſt robbery, aſſaſſination, and even regicide. But the ſpeakers were every inſtant interrupted by the populace with the cries of, *Bread! bread! No long ſpeeches! What have we to do with your criminal laws, when Paris is without bread?* "I ſhould be glad to know," cried *Mirabeau* with an intrepidity, attended with little danger to him, "upon what authority any "perſons preſume here to dictate laws to "us? Surely the friends of liberty are not "come here to reſtrain the liberty of the "Aſſembly?" This apoſtrophe was greatly applauded, and impoſed ſilence on the multitude. The Aſſembly did not break up till four in the morning, and then upon repeated aſſurances that *all was quiet*, and that there was nothing to fear. Some Deputies nevertheleſs paſſed the remainder of the night in the Hall; among whom were *Barnave*, *Mirabeau*, *Petion*, and other zealous Demagogues.

From

From about eighty to a hundred of the *Gardes-du-Corps* had remained within the Palace, and guarded all the poſts of it with the greateſt vigilance. The poſts on the outſide were occupied by the former French Guards, with no ſtronger force than before the Revolution; as if the preſence of ſo many thouſands of brigands, whoſe horrible projects were but too well known, required no further meaſures of ſafety than uſual. *M. de la Fayette,* by taking no precautions whatever, wiſhed no doubt to prove that there was nothing to fear, and perhaps he was weak enough to believe it: but with ſuch weakneſs an honeſt man may very often paſs for a great villain; and muſt always be as reſponſible for thoſe crimes he ſuffers to be committed, which he had the power to prevent, as if he were perſonally guilty. To the ſtupid ſecurity of *M. de la Fayette* will hiſtory therefore impute the crimes of this day.

At a quarter paſt five in the morning, a ſmall party of women and brigands appeared at the iron-gate of the Princes' Court, which the former French Guards had inſiſted ſhould be left open; the guard allowed them to paſs, and they hurried through the Princes' Court

Court and got into the garden. They were ſeen and heard by the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and by two of the Queen's chamber-women, who had not gone to bed, and who carefully watched all their motions. A few inſtants after, two women, or men in diſguiſe, were ſeen to come into the great hall, who, having gone up the Princes' ſtaircaſe and looked about the place, diſappeared.

At half after five, the day beginning to dawn, groups of women and brigands, heated with the ſtrong liquors which they had been provided with in profuſion, covered the *Place d'Armes*, and advanced towards the Palace. This extraordinary motion determined the officer of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, who commanded at the Guard-houſe, to order his detachment under arms; and at a quarter before ſix he marched at their head, to repair, as uſual, to the halls of the Palace. An immenſe crowd, armed with pikes, guns, and clubs, preſſed about the King's gate. As ſoon as thoſe furies perceived the *Gardes-du-Corps*, they hooted them in the moſt inſulting manner. "*Fire upon thoſe ſcoundrels, don't miſs them,*" was the general cry; and at the ſame time their guns were all levelled againſt the Guards;

Guards; who in ſpite of theſe threats croſſed the Court in their uſual pace, and quietly entered the Palace: but they eſcaped this firſt danger only from the arms of the brigands having remained expoſed all night to the rain, by which the priming had got wet.

The Marquis *d'Agueſſeau*, Major of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, ſtill depending upon the promiſes and on the vigilance of *M. de la Fayette*, did not imagine that an attack upon the Palace was to be feared, and contented himſelf with ordering the Officer on guard to ſtation two of the *Gardes-du-Corps* at each gate. *The King* (added he) *commands and requeſts you not to fire upon, or to ſtrike any perſon; in ſhort, not to defend yourſelves.* They were very ſenſible that the inevitable conſequence of ſuch an order was to leave them defenceleſs to the mercy of the moſt ferocious cannibals, yet they nevertheleſs promiſed to obey it. "Sir," replied the Officer upon guard to *M. d'Agueſſeau*, "*aſſure our unfortunate Maſter that* "*his orders ſhall be obeyed, but we ſhall be* "*murdered.*"

While the *Gardes-du-Corps* were taking the ſtations aſſigned them at the different gates

gates and in the halls of the Palace, the brigands, who had made their way into the Miniſters' Court, had formed into two columns. The ſmaller one marched towards the Chapel, the other entered the Princes' Court, and both arrived at the ſame time in the Royal Court. The two Guards who had juſt taken their ſtations at the gate of the latter (*M. Deſhuttes* and *M. Moreau*) were inſtantly ſurrounded and aſſailed by a crowd of aſſaſſins. *M. Deſhuttes* fell under a thouſand wounds, and was dragged expiring into the Miniſters' Court. There a monſter, who wore his beard long *, ruſhed forward with a horrible eagerneſs, having an axe in his hand, and after repeated ſtrokes ſevered the head of the unfortunate victim, which was inſtantly placed on a pike, while the multitude applauded the dreadful ſight with the moſt ferocious ſhouts.

M. Moreau experienced the horror of ſeeing his comrade fall without being able to help him, while the ſame fate ſeemed to

* This villain, whoſe name was *Jourdan*, and who ever after went by the name of *Coupe-tête* (the beheader), was not only remarkable for his long beard, but for two white metal plates which he wore, one at his back and the other on his breaſt.

await

await himſelf. His muſquetoon had been torn from him: ſeized by his croſs-belt he ſtruggled with the murderers, and was fortunate enough to get from their hands; but he was purſued by the brigands, whoſe numbers were every inſtant increaſing, armed with guns, piſtols, bayonets, halberts, and ſticks with knives. Dreadful howlings announced their entrance into the Palace: they ſoon arrived at the foot of the great ſtaircaſe, and ran up in crowds, uttering imprecations and the moſt ſanguinary threats againſt the Queen. As ſoon as they appeared, the *Gardes-du-Corps*, who were ſtationed on the baluſtrade that ran from the King's hall to the Queen's, advanced to receive the firſt ſhock, and to give that unfortunate Princeſs time to eſcape. Eight or ten of them went down a few ſteps and endeavoured to calm thoſe furies:—"Friends," ſaid they, "you love your good King, and "yet come into his Palace to diſturb his "reſt and make him uneaſy."—*Surrender your arms!* was the reply they received from the crowd that puſhed forward upon them. Overcome by numbers, they were forced to retreat, and fortunately entered the Queen's hall in time to ſhut the door of it before

before the brigands could prevent it. The rage of theſe villains became but the more furious; they cried out loudly for the Queen's head, and beat with violence at the door of the Hall where the guards were, and at that of the great Hall, which reſiſted for ſome moments. The lower pannel of the latter was ſoon forced in: the *Gardes-du-Corps* ſtopped it up with a large cheſt that held fire-wood, which they drew to the opening in ſpite of being pierced with pikes. Fruitleſs efforts! the brigands opened a paſſage at laſt, and overturned every thing in their way. *M. de Varicourt* was the firſt they ſeized: he attempted to take refuge in the great Hall, whither he was purſued, and fell beneath the fatal blow into the arms of one of his comrades. They ſtabbed him again and again, and committed unheard of cruelties upon his body. At this time another column of brigands came up by the Hall of the *Cent Suiſſes*, croſſed the great Hall, went into the Hall of the Queen's Guards, and joined the people who had entered by the great ſtaircaſe.

Compelled to yield to numbers, ſeveral of the *Gardes-du-Corps* fell back to the *Oeil-de-Bœuf*, which they entered and barricadoed them-

themſelves. Thoſe who remained in the great Hall and in that of the Queen's Guards were at this moment the moſt expoſed to the rage of the brigands, who were crying out more than ever, *that they muſt cut off the Queen's head, that they wanted to tear her heart out.* *M. *Durepaire* ſeeing theſe monſters take the way to her Majeſty's apartments, and fearing that ſhe had not yet had time to leave it, throws himſelf before them, and calls to them—" Wretches! what are " you going to do?" He preſents his muſketoon at them; thirty aſſaſſins immediately ſpring upon him, diſarm and throw him down, then beat him, and drag him out of the Hall as far as the baniſters of the great ſtaircaſe. A man with a pike attempts to pierce his heart; he has fortunately ſtrength enough remaining, and preſence of mind to ſeize the pike and tear it out of the hands of the villain; he makes uſe of it to parry the blows aimed at him: he now ſees the door of the King's Hall half opened, and makes a laſt effort to reach it: his comrades run to ſave him, draw him to them by his coat, ſucceed in pulling him in, and thus reſcue him from the hands of his executioners.

M. Mio-

M. Miomandre de St. Marie ſeeing his comrade dragged along, flew to the Queen's apartments, half opens the door, and, perceiving a woman at the extremity of the next room, calls out—" Madam, ſave the " Queen; they are ſeeking her life. I am " here alone againſt thouſands of tigers; " my comrades have been forced to quit " their Hall." He ſhuts the door, and after ſome moments of reſiſtance is thrown upon the ground—an enormous blow from the butt-end of a gun lays his head open; his butchers ſeeing him weltering in his blood, and ſuppoſing that they have killed him, leave him to go and get arms from the great Hall. He collects his ſtrength, and takes advantage of that moment to fly to the King's Hall, where he rejoins *M. Durepaire.*

The Queen, called by her two faithful chamber-maids, (Madame *Thibaut* and Madame *Augué*) has but juſt time to croſs the *Oeil-de-Bœuf*, and eſcape half naked. During this ſhort paſſage the moſt menacing clamours aſſail her ears—" She is a *Meſſa-*" *lina,*" cry the monſters; " ſhe has be-" trayed the Country, and ſworn the ruin

" of the French; ſhe muſt be hanged, ſhe " muſt be hanged."

The King was not in his apartment. Suddenly awakened by the howlings of the brigands as they were breaking in, he had ſeen them from a window of the Clock Cabinet ruſhing in a crowd towards the great ſtaircaſe. Trembling for the Queen's life he hurried on his clothes, and going out by the private paſſage made under the *Oeil-de-Bœuf*, called the *King's Paſſage*, arrived in her room juſt as ſhe had gone out of it. Here he found only ſix of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, who apprized him of the Queen's flight, the maſſacre of their comrades, and begged that they might be permitted to eſcort him. The King, fearing to expoſe their lives, and wiſhing to aſcertain himſelf whether they might go out without danger, deſired them to wait a moment in the Queen's chamber till he ſent them orders, which in a minute after they received, to repair to the *Oeil-de-Bœuf*.

The firſt thing the Queen did in coming to the King's room, was to aſk for her children. She ſent for her daughter, and at the ſame time Madame *de Tourzel* arrived with the

the Dauphin in her arms. Being now leſs uneaſy as to the fate of her auguſt family, her Majeſty finiſhed dreſſing herſelf with the greateſt haſte, to be the ſooner ready to ſhow herſelf to the people clad as became her dignity, to preſent herſelf as a Queen to the weapons of her murderers, and to the homage of her faithful ſubjects.

At the time that *M. Durepaire* was flying to the King's Hall, a piſtol-ſhot that was directed at him killed one of the brigands who preſſed cloſeſt upon him. The dead body of the man was immediately carried into the Marble Court and laid upon the ſteps, where it was told that he had been killed by the *Gardes-du-Corps*. This atrocious falſehood ſpread in an inſtant through all the Courts of the Palace, and redoubled the exaſperation and fury of the populace againſt the Guards, whom, in expiation of their crime, they talk of ſacrificing upon the body. Already were they leading *M. de Lille* up to it with that intention, when happily the phyſician *Gondran*, a Captain of the Paris National Guard, who was juſt come into the Marble Court with his detachment, inſpired his ſoldiers with ſuch a ſenſe of the horror of the murder, as to determine them to prevent it:

they threw themſelves upon the band of brigands who were leading the *Garde-du-Corps*, reſcued him from their hands, and ſent him back under a guard to the King's apartments.

It is important to obſerve here, that Captain *Gondran*, who, according to his depoſition*, arrived in the Marble Court at a quarter paſt ſix, declared, that ſome time after he had got there the report of a piſtol was heard, after which the dead body of a workman, with the ſkull fractured, &c. was brought out. It muſt have been then half paſt ſix, or thereabouts; but the brigands had entered the Palace a quarter before ſix, and had previouſly maſſacred two of the *Gardes-du-Corps*; ſo that, if it were even proved that the piſtol that had killed this workman had been fired by the *Gardes-du-Corps*, it would be falſe and abſurd to ſay with the Revolutionary Journaliſts, and with the Reporter *Chabroud*, a ſtill more impudent liar, that the breaking into the Palace, and the firſt enormities committed againſt the *Gardes-du-Corps*, had been in

* See his Depoſition, No. 28, p. 54, Vol. I. of the Proceedings at the Chatelet.

conſequence

conſequence of the murder of this workman. Beſides, the Proceedings prove the fact relative to the death of this man. One of the depoſitions moſt worthy of credit ſhows, that the ſhot which killed this workman *was aimed at the King's Guards, as it came from a point where there were none of them, nor any perſon in regimentals.* Theſe were the very words given in evidence by *Valdoné*, one of the *Cent Suiſſes* who was ſtationed at the bottom of the marble ſteps: nor was it upon conjecture or hearſay that he gave this evidence, but, on the contrary, he poſitively affirms that the man was ſhot cloſe by him*. The depoſitions upon which the Reporter *Chabroud* founds his imputation of this murder to the Guards, are vague, inſignificant, and contradictory; conſequently unworthy of credit.

Although the aſſaſſins were moſt exaſperated againſt the Guards who defended the entrance of the Queen's apartment, all thoſe who were on duty at the different ſtations within were expoſed to the ſame danger. Several of them were wounded more or leſs

* See his Depoſition, No. 33, page 64, Vol. I. of the Proceedings at the Chatelet.

dangerouſly. The Chevalier *de Gratery* ſeized by the collar and beaten, was dragged out of the Palace by a large mob, who cried crying furiouſly *A la lanterne! à la lanterne!* He was fortunately obſerved by ſome grenadiers of the late French Guards who took him under their protection, and offered to eſcort him. While they were conducting him, a daſtardly aſſaſſin came up and clapped his piece to his head; but as he fired, one of the grenadiers turned the gun away, and *M. de Gratery* was not hurt by it. He got to the Hotel of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, whence he haſtened in diſguiſe, and took refuge at an honeſt Citizen's of Verſailles, who gave him an aſylum and ſaved him.

The brigands, among whom were obſerved many men diſguiſed as women, having wounded or diſperſed all the *Gardes-du-Corps* they had found in the Hall of the Queen's Guards, and having ſeized their arms, made their way without any obſtacle to her Majeſty's apartment. Tranſported with rage at not finding her there, they exerciſed their ſtupid ferocity upon the bed from which ſhe had juſt riſen; ſome of them crying out, *We have miſſed our aim.* They ruſhed back to the gallery with the hope of forcing

forcing the *Oeil-de-Boeuf*, where ſeveral of the *Gardes-du-Corps* were aſſembled; who firmly reſolved to defend the lives of the Royal Family to the laſt drop of their blood. They had barricaded the doors of the Hall, and piled up behind them cheſts of drawers, ſideboards, and the heavieſt articles of furniture they could collect.

While the brigands were attacking the door that opened on the gallery, one of the King's moſt virtuous and zealous ſervants, the Marquis *de Vaudreuil*, Lieutenant-General of the Marine, appeared at the oppoſite door. This loyal officer was eagerly haſtening to ſhare with the *Gardes-du-Corps* the honour of making a rampart of their perſons for his Maſter. He found the Hall before the *Oeil-de-Boeuf* occupied by an immenſe crowd, chiefly compoſed of the National Guard of Paris, who were expreſſing themſelves with violence againſt the Guards, and preparing to attack them. The Marquis *de Vaudreuil*, whoſe red ribbon had caught their eyes, endeavoured to pacify them: "But why theſe bayonets?" ſaid he; "you will hurt yourſelves: with whom "are you angry?"—"With the *Gardes-* "*du-Corps*, General." "What have they "done

" done to you?"—" What have they done
" to us! Sent and defied us to attack them."
—" You are deceived; it is an impoſtion:
" can you believe a hundred men mad
" enough to defy thirty thouſand?" This reflection was too ſenſible not to make ſome impreſſion, and doubtleſs contributed not a little to the happy iſſue that followed.

As ſoon as the Marquis *de Vaudreuil*, who ſaw that he could not enter the Royal apartments on this ſide, had left the Hall, the *Gardes-du-Corps* heard a violent knocking at the door of the *Oeil-de-Boeuf*: on which they aſked who was there? " The
" Grenadiers."—" What is it you would
" have?"—" We would have you take the
" National cockade."—" We have the re-
" gimental cockade which we have always
" worn."—" We have been deceived then,
" and all Paris believes that you are wearing
" the black cockade." This anſwer inſpiring the *Gardes-du-Corps* with ſome confidence, one of them, *M. de Chevannes*, anxious to be more poſitively aſſured of the diſpoſition of the Grenadiers, opened the door, appeared before them, and addreſſed them thus: " Gentlemen, if a victim be
" wanting, I come to offer myſelf; I am
" one

" one of the commanders of the ſtation, and " to me belongs the honour of periſhing the " firſt in defence of my King; but then " learn to reſpect our good King."

The Captain of the Grenadiers, the brave *Gondran*, whom I have already mentioned, greatly affected by this ſpeech, giving his hand to *M. de Chevannes*, replied: " Far " from ſeeking your life, we come to de- " fend you againſt your murderers." At theſe words all the Grenadiers threw themſelves into the arms of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, changed their caps for their hats, and the National cockade for the white. Having ſealed this reconciliation with the kindeſt embraces, they marched through the apartments, drove out the brigands, and made themſelves maſters of all the ſtations, in order to ſecure the Palace from a freſh irruption.

I have hitherto ſpoken only of the outrages committed by the column of brigands that entered the Palace by the Princes' Court. The brigands that compoſed the one that took its way by the chapel, were as obſtinately and furiouſly bent on the purſuit of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, but happily had leſs opportunity of exerciſing their fury. The Chevalier *de Raymond*, who was on duty

at

at the paſſage of the Theatre, was unmercifully beaten, diſarmed, and ſtripped; they left him only his ſhirt, and in that ſtate dragged him by his hair as far as the barracks of the late French Guards, where a Pariſian National Guard took him under his protection, and ſaved his life.

Two others of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, purſued by the brigands, paſſed by *Madame Elizabeth*'s door, and informed their comrade who was on guard there, that the Palace was forced, and that the lives of the King and Queen were threatened. He waked the Princeſs's people, who offered him a retreat; this he refuſed, but *Madame Elizabeth* compelled him by the moſt expreſs command to go into her apartment, and became his guardian angel. She had ever been the guardian angel of misfortune, and was this day the protectreſs of valour and fidelity. The lives of two more of the *Gardes-du-Corps* were ſaved by the humanity of *Madame Adelaide* and *Madame Victoire*, the King's aunts: the former of theſe Princeſſes ſent away in time the guard who was on duty at her door, and the latter would have no guard at hers.

A few

A few of the Guards who had returned to their Hotel the night before, were in a manner detained priſoners there by the Pariſian National Guards, who had made themſelves maſters of the Hotel on their arrival, as well as of the arms they found there. The firſt who were informed of the irruption into the Palace, ruſhed out precipitately to make their way thither. This was juſt at the time that the aſſaſſins, driven from the apartments, enraged at not having been able to execute the moſt execrable of crimes, and at having ſuffered ſome victims to eſcape, were ſpreading themſelves through the town with the abominable project of glutting their vengeance upon all the *Gardes-du-Corps* they ſhould meet. The firſt whom they ſaw was *M. de Lukerque*, whom they ſeized at the entrance of the *Rue de l'Orangerie*. A thouſand ferocious voices cried out at once, *Cut his throat! hang him!* Cruelly beaten and ſtripped, he was dragged with a rope round his neck into the ſtable-yard, and thrown upon the edge of the watering-place. He roſe; but thouſands of pikes and bayonets were pointed at him, and at the ſame time he received a blow on his head from the butt end of a gun, which

brought him to the ground. Weltering in his blood, he looked for death to terminate his torture; and already was an axe raiſed for the purpoſe, when a grenadier of the Pariſian National Guard ſprung into the midſt of the aſſaſſins, and prevented it from falling. The intrepidity of this man awed the cannibals, who ſtood motionleſs with ſtupor, ſtaring at the brave grenadier, who raiſed *M. de Lukerque*, took him in his arms, and carried him to a group of ſixteen or ſeventeen *Gardes-du-Corps*, who were at that moment coming out of the Hotel, eſcorted by a large detachment of the Pariſian National Guard.

One of *M. de Lukerque's* comrades who had come out of the Hotel with him (*M. Vaquier de la Motte*) had reached the deſcent of the avenue from Sceaux, when he was pulled ſo violently by his coat as to draw him back ſome ſteps, although he was a man of prodigious ſtrength. The brigands preſſed upon him in ſuch numbers that they could not aim their blows well, and he was fortunate enough to parry them with his hands. This unequal ſtruggle would have delayed his death but a very few moments, if a diſpute had not ariſen among his

his executioners upon the nature of the puniſhment they ſhould inflict upon him. Some were for beginning by cutting off his head; others, on the contrary, were for hanging him; and he was alternately defended and dragged by one and the other party. One of the aſſaſſins propoſed as a means of conciliation, to carry the unfortunate Guard to Paris, and hang him on the *Place-de-Grève*. It was natural enough, indeed, to contrive for the good Pariſians this little ſhare of a feaſt ſo worthy of them, and of which they defrayed all the expences. This propoſal, however, was anſwered with the moſt furious yells, and had nearly united all opinions for the readieſt kind of execution. The monſter with the long beard was there, with his axe raiſed, complaining that he had been made to come to Verſailles to cut off only two heads, and perſuading thoſe who were holding *M. Vaquier de la Motte* by the hair, to throw him upon the ground. His vigorous reſiſtance and great ſize, caught the eyes of two grenadiers of the late French Guards, who flew to his aſſiſtance, called their comrades, diſperſed the brigands, and carried off the victim.—Their deſire of ſaving ſo brave a man determined

mined them to conduct him to the colours of the diſtrict of the Feuillans; but their humanity had nearly been very fatal. They had ſcarcely come into the ranks of the battalion of that diſtrict, when a man in regimentals was cowardly enough to fire a piſtol at his back. Fortunately the ball ſtruck upon the claſp of *M. Vaquier de la Motte's* croſs-belt, by which he eſcaped being wounded. The National Guard, exaſperated, were for putting the aſſaſſin to death immediately, and with much difficulty were ſatisfied, on the ſolicitation of the Officers, with taking him up that he might be tried and puniſhed in a more regular manner.

Several *Gardes-du-Corps* were wounded more or leſs dangerouſly; and doubtleſs they would have all periſhed under the blows of the brigands, of whom the infamous Militia of Verſailles were the auxiliaries, had they not been thus conſtantly, thus courageouſly, reſcued. *M. de la Fayette* himſelf, when once awake, exerted all the zeal and activity he was capable of, not in repairing the irreparable miſchief which his credulity and his ſleep had occaſioned, but in ſtopping the courſe of it. He was on horſeback, and riding from place to place, to collect his troops

troops together, when he perceived fifteen or ſixteen of the *Gardes-du-Corps* dragged along by a furious populace, whoſe deſign was to hang them all at once on the lamp-irons in the *Place d'Armes*. He galloped up, harangued the people, declared he would not ſuffer brave men who had done no harm to be murdered; that he took them under his protection, and that they muſt maſſacre himſelf before they offered them the ſlighteſt inſult. While he was thus gaining time, a company of grenadiers came by.—"Brave grenadiers!" cried he to them, "will you ſuffer brave men to be baſely aſſaſſinated? Swear to me, on the faith "of grenadiers, that you will not ſuffer "any harm to be done them." The grenadiers ſwore it, placed the Guards in the midſt of them, and conducted them to the Royal Court.

The Royal Family, diſmayed, had taken refuge in the King's Cabinet, when the Marquis *de Vaudreuil* entered. The Miniſters had not yet been able to repair thither. They did not arrive till after the brigands were driven out of the Palace, nor was their preſence either uſeful or encouraging: they kept the moſt mournful ſilence.

Mr. *Necker* ſtanding in a corner of the cabinet, with both his hands over his face, ſeemed plunged in the deepeſt reverie. The King was in deſpair. The Queen alone preſerving her great character, conſoled ſome, encouraged others, and careſſed her children. The lively intereſt ſhe took in the fate of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and her hope of ſeeing them aſſiſted, made her forget her own danger in ſtanding too near the windows, and ſhe often went to them to ſee what was paſſing in the Court. At one time, *M. de la Luzerne*, the Miniſter of the Navy, ſaw a ball paſs within a few inches of the ſaſh where her Majeſty was ſtanding; upon which he advanced immediately, and, without any affectation, but with an air of curioſity, ſlipped between the window and the Queen. This was not loſt upon her Majeſty. "I ſee your motive," ſaid ſhe to him, "and I thank you, *M. de* "*Luzerne*; but I will not have you remain "there; it is not your place, but mine: "the King has need of ſo faithful a ſervant "as you." *M. de la Luzerne* inſiſted in vain; ſhe forced him to remove, but conſented, on his repreſentations, to ſtand a little farther from the window.

If

If Mr. *Necker* had had the leaſt energy, had he been as faithful a ſervant as *M. de la Luzerne*, he might with much leſs danger, and he ought to have ſhown himſelf to thoſe furies, whoſe idol he was, to have employed all the influence he derived from his popularity, in making them return to their duty, and to have produced his moſt ſentimental phraſes to recall the reſpect and love they owed their King. If he had not ſucceeded, he would at leaſt have had the glory of having tried. But Mr. *Necker* could only bewail the outrages that were committed, under the windows of the Palace, upon the unfortunate Guards. At that very moment the brigands were going to put four of them to death, quarter-maſters and brigadiers, whoſe heads were white with age, and who ſaid to the people who were about to ſacrifice them—"Our lives "are in your hands; you may put us to "death; but you will only ſhorten our days "a very little, and we ſhall not die diſ-"honoured." An Officer of the Pariſian National Guard, affected with this addreſs and the venerable air of the Officrs, threw his arms round the neck of the oldeſt, and, embracing him, ſaid—"No, we will not

" put ſuch brave men as you to death." — His comrades followed his example; they embraced the Guards, and carried them in triumph into the Royal Court.

This ſudden movement, with the tumult and the ſhouts that accompanied it, had ſtill, at ſome diſtance, ſo great an appearance of fury, that the King was greatly alarmed at it. At the very time, too, he was told that his Guards were every where purſued and put to death in a ſhocking manner. Far then from ſuſpecting that thoſe who were raiſed up were carried in triumph, he thought that they were going to be put to death; and without conſulting any body, he opened the window, appeared upon the balcony, and entreated the people to ſpare them. At the ſame time the Guards who were with the King, thinking only of ſaving their comrades, took off their bandoleers and threw them to the people, ſhewed the National Cockade in their hats, and cried *Vive la Nation!*

From that moment the chief aim of the conſpirators was diſappointed. Their ſanguinary Agents began to be tired of the carnage, and were beſides reſtrained by the Pariſian National Guards, who, flattered by the King's conduct, and ſatisfied with the

action

action of his Guards, anſwered with tranſport their ſhout of *Vive la Nation!* with the unanimous ſhouts of *Vive le Roi! Vivent les Gardes-du-Corps!* Theſe ſhouts, a thouſand times repeated in the Courts and in the *Place d'Armes*, ſoon reached as far as the avenue; and now the victims whom they were going to maſſacre are kindly received, and borne in triumph to the King's windows. Thoſe about his Majeſty are invited to come down; they accept the invitation, and ſhare with their comrades the boiſterous careſſes of thoſe very women, the ferocious embraces of thoſe very brigands, who but the moment before would have put them all to death.

Amidſt theſe tranſports of joy, and to increaſe their intoxication, the populace called loudly to ſee the Queen. She immediately appeared on the balcony, with *Madame Royale* and the *Dauphin*. *No children! no children!* cried a thouſand voices. The Queen, not at all alarmed at the atrocious intentions implied by thoſe cries, did not heſitate to ſend in the children, and appeared alone with ſuch dignity and magnanimity, that her ſavage aſſaſſins, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, forgot the arms that were in their

hands, and her Majeſty ceaſing to be the object of their malignity, became that of their admiration.

This was the moment choſen by the Duke of *Orleans* to go to the Palace. A few minutes before he had been ſeen in the Miniſters' Court, ſurrounded by brigands who looked upon him as their Chief, kindly ſmiling at the horrible teſtimonies of their attachment. Their hands ſtill reeking with blood had been laviſhing applauſes upon him, their contaminated mouths had been roaring about him the moſt criminal acclamations joined with thoſe of *Vive le Duc d'Orleans!* * He did not ſhudder with horror —he did not repreſs them——Shall I ſay it? if we are to believe the witneſſes who were examined in the proceedings at the Châtelet, he encouraged thoſe acclamations. He had been ſeen at the head of the regicides, upon the great ſtair-caſe, pointing the way to the Queen's apartments †.

The Queen having left the balcony, a

* See in the proceedings of the Châtelet the depoſitions of *M. de la Chatre*, *M. de Frondeville*, and *M. Duval de Nampti*.

† Ibid. *La Serre's* depoſition, No. ccxxvi. page 82. vol. ii.

ſingle

ſingle voice from among the crowd that was collected under the windows of the Palace cried out, *The King to Paris.* This cry was at firſt repeated only by that multitude of ſimpletons whoſe chief part in a mob is to bear *chorus* in all the cries they hear, without troubling themſelves about what they ſignify; but it very ſoon became that of the people and of the army, who till then had ſhewn no intention of carrying the King to Paris. Surrounded by brigands, whoſe fury it was very eaſy to excite anew, the King had evidently no means of reſiſting the imperious unanimity of their cries; yet before he declined, he wiſhed to conſult the National Aſſembly, and ſent them an invitation to come and hold their Sitting in the Palace. But to inform them of the King's deſire to confer with them, it was neceſſary to wait till they were aſſembled, which they could not be till eleven o'clock. The propoſal of repairing to the Palace was then put to the vote, and would have been adopted by the majority, had not *Mirabeau*, who well knew what was paſſing under the windows, oppoſed the King's deſire as ſucceſsfully as hypocritically and wickedly. He doubtleſs feared that the Aſſembly might ſecond the repugnance his Majeſty muſt have to going

to Paris, and thereby overthrow one of the moſt important meaſures of a plan of which there is reaſon to believe that he was the inſtigator. He had the audacity to maintain, that "it was derogatory to the dignity of "the Aſſembly to go to the Palace; that "they could not deliberate under the roof "of Kings; that the Reſolutions would be "ſuſpected; and that it would be ſufficient "to ſend a Deputation of ſix-and-thirty "Members." The Preſident proteſted in vain againſt this; and ſome other Members tried, with as little ſucceſs, to impreſs upon the Aſſembly, that it was the duty of the Repreſentatives of the Nation to fly to the aſſiſtance of the Monarch in danger. The rabble that filled the galleries, and who were but a detachment from thoſe that were beſieging the Palace, ſupported *Mirabeau*'s motion by ſuch intimidating applauſe, that it was decreed.

The impatience of the populace, their perſevering cries, and *M. de la Fayette*'s ſolicitations, no longer ſuffered the King to delay coming to a reſolution; and ſeeing himſelf deſerted by the National Aſſembly, he promiſed to ſet out at noon for Paris, making no other conditions for his departure, than that of being accompanied by his family, who

who had made him promiſe not to ſeparate himſelf from them. The principal motive that determined their Majeſties to take ſo hazardous a reſolution was, the poſitive intelligence they received, that the agents of the *Orleans* Faction, who directed at their pleaſure all the motions of the brigands and rebels, were at that moment employing the moſt active manœuvres to have the Duke of *Orleans* inſtantly proclaimed King, if *Louis XVI.* ſhould refuſe complying with the pretended wiſh of the Capital, which the populace were ſhouting forth.

The Duke of *Orleans* could certainly appear in the King's apartments at ſo critical a moment for no other purpoſe than to pry into what was paſſing there, and to give timely notice of it to the leaders of his conſpiracy. He was neither diſconcerted at not being ſpoken to by any perſon, nor by the looks of indignation darted at him from every countenance. He went and placed himſelf at the door of the Cabinet through which the King had paſſed, remaining ſome minutes with his back fixed againſt the wall. The Queen advancing to go into the Cabinet, he had the impudence to ſtep towards her, offering his arm. Her Majeſty ſtruck with horror puſhed it away with a dreadful

dreadful frown, and going alone into the Cabinet ſhut the door after her. At length he quitted the King's apartments, where he left the Royal Family, and the zealous Royaliſts, by whom they were ſurrounded, in the utmoſt anxiety reſpecting the reſolution their Majeſties were about to take. The Preſident *de Frondeville**, a Member of the National Aſſembly, was among the number of thoſe faithful ſervants: in a profound reverie he put his elbow, without attention, againſt a concealed door that appeared as a part of the wainſcot, and which opened into a little back cloſet of the King's. The door yielded, and the Preſident ſurpriſed looked into the cloſet, where he perceived the King and Queen, and was haſtily putting the door to, when the Queen called to him, and ſaid: "No, no, you may come in." She was ſitting with a writing-box on her lap, in which ſhe was looking for ſome keys; the Dauphin was at her ſide, and the King ſtanding up before her. — "Well! "*M. de Frondeville*," (continued the Queen) "we are to go to Paris." The Preſident replied by a geſture of reſignation and of grief; the only reply that prudence could

* *M. de Frondeville* was Preſident of the Parliament of Rouen.

dictate

dictate on ſo delicate an occaſion. "We "were thinking (continued her Majeſty) "where we ſhould be able to lodge our good "*Babet**; we wiſh that dear Siſter to be as "comfortable and as near us as poſſible." The King, ſad and penſive, did not ſay a word. The Queen, after a ſhort ſilence, roſe with emotion, took her ſon in her arms, and, preſenting him to the King, ſaid: "Promiſe me, I conjure you, in the name "of all that is moſt dear to you, for the "welfare of France, for your own, for that "of this dear child—promiſe me, that if ever the like circumſtance happens again, and you have the means of removing, you "will not loſe the opportunity." The King, greatly affected, dropped a few tears, and went into another cloſet without making any anſwer.

Soon after the Royal Family appeared again at the balcony, attended by the Miniſters and others who were then in the King's apartment, when *M. de la Fayette* announced to the People, that his Majeſty had determined to go to Paris. He added, that evil-

* The abbreviation of Elizabeth, and was the familiar appellation given by the King and Queen to *Madame Elizabeth.*

diſpoſed

diſpoſed perſons were greatly intereſted in exciting the people, whom they miſled, to inſurrection; that he knew them very well, and would take a proper time to unmaſk them. The King alſo ſpoke to the people: "My children (ſaid he), you wiſh me to go "with you to Paris, and I conſent to it, "provided I do not part with my wife and "my family." — *Yes, yes, yes,* ſhouted thouſands of voices, mingled with ſome cries of *Vive la Reine!* "My children, "(added the King) I demand ſafety for my "Guards." *Vive le Roi! Vivent les Gardes-du-Corps!* was now heard from all quarters; and the cry was anſwered by the *Gardes-du-Corps*, with *Vive le Roi! Vive la Nation! M. de la Fayette* then made them take the oath, holding up their hats with the National cockades which were in them turned towards the people; on which the whole army raiſed theirs on the points of their bayonets. This reconciliation had all the appearance of ſincerity, and was celebrated by a general diſcharge of artillery and a long volley of ſmall arms.

The intelligence of the King's departure for Paris ſpread the greateſt tranſports of joy through the Courts of the Palace,

Palace, but the deepeſt conſternation reigned within. Several of the former French Guards themſelves were obſerved in the apartments ſhowing their deſpair, and no doubt their repentance too, by weeping bitterly. This fact, which has been atteſted to me by thoſe who were eye-witneſſes of it, and worthy of the higheſt credit, is very far from being improbable. When the French Guards betrayed the King, they only ſold their honour without foreſeeing the conſequences of it, which now appeared before their eyes in the moſt hideous view, at a time when the wages of their guilt were ſpent, and the ſhame and remorſe of it only remained: it was impoſſible but they muſt have been greatly affected, and their feelings returned and revolted againſt a ſtep for which they had by no means reckoned.

The great event announced by ſuch noiſy rejoicings was not yet known in the Aſſembly, and it was reported that the King was going thither. After deliberating for near an hour upon the manner in which they ſhould receive him, they heard that his Majeſty was preparing to go to Paris. *Mirabeau* on this moved, without loſing a moment, that it ſhould be immediately de-

creed, that the National Aſſembly were inſeparable from the King during the preſent Seſſion. I have already ſhown what intereſt the factious had in the removal of the Aſſembly to Paris. *Mirabeau*'s motion certainly proceeded from no other motive; but as on ſuch an occaſion it might be conſidered an act of fidelity and devotion to the King, it was unanimouſly decreed. A Deputation was appointed to go immediately and preſent this decree to his Majeſty; who replied in theſe terms: "I receive with "great ſatisfaction the freſh teſtimonies of "attachment which the Aſſembly give me. "I wiſh from my heart never to be ſepa-"rated from them. I am going to Paris "with the Queen and my children, and "will give the neceſſary orders that the "Aſſembly may come and continue their "labours there."

This anſwer was brought to the Aſſembly juſt as they had decreed, that a deputation of a hundred of their members ſhould accompany the King to Paris. "To ſigna-"lize for ever this memorable day of har-"mony (cried *Mirabeau*), and to ſhow that "the ſtate veſſel is no longer in danger, but "that it is about to move on as ſmoothly as "ever,

"Never, it is my opinion that we ſhould "proceed immediately to the conſideration "of a decree for the taxes preſented by the "Miniſter of the Finances, and upon an "addreſs to be ſent to our Conſtituents."

During the debate the Preſident (*Mounier*) being charged to name the Deputies who were to accompany the King to Paris, was engaged in drawing out the liſt, from which he excluded *Mirabeau*, who had got his name inſcribed by one of the Secretaries. *Mirabeau* complained very bitterly againſt this, but in vain. He pretended that he had only aſked to be in the deputation in order to appeaſe the people, in caſe of any tumult on the King's arrival at Paris. "Sir," ſaid *Mounier* to him, "they who have power "enough over the minds of the People to "appeaſe them, may alſo inflame them."

The reſt of the Sitting was engaged in diſcuſſing Mr. *Necker*'s plan, which was unanimouſly adopted with ſome amendments.

The King did not leave Verſailles till one o'clock. The *Queen*, the *Dauphin*, *Madame Royale*, *Monſieur*, *Madame*, *Madame Elizabeth*, and *Madame de Tourzel*, were in his Majeſty's coach; which was followed by the Deputies in their carriages. A

detachment of brigands carrying the heads of two of the *Gardes-du-Corps* in triumph formed the advanced guard, and had ſet out two hours before. Thoſe cannibals ſtopped a ſhort time at Seves, where they carried their ferocity to ſuch a pitch as to force a wretched hair-dreſſer to dreſs the hair of the two bloody heads. The main body of the Pariſian army followed them immediately: before the King's coach walked the fiſh-women who had come from Paris the day before, and the whole army of abandoned females, the vile refuſe of their ſex, who were ſtill intoxicated with rage and wine. Several of them ſat aſtride on the cannon, commemorating with the moſt horrible ſongs all the crimes they had been committing, or had been witneſs to. Others nearer the King's carriage ſung allegorical airs, the inſulting alluſions of which they applied to the Queen by the groſſeſt geſtures. Waggons of corn and flour, from Verſailles, formed a part of the proceſſion eſcorted by grenadiers, and ſurrounded by women and *the porters of the market*, armed with pikes, or carrying long branches of poplar. This part of the proceſſion had a very ſingular effect at a little diſtance: it might be called a walking

a walking foreſt, through which the ſteel points of pikes and the muſket-barrels were ſeen glittering. In the brutal tranſports of their joy, the women ſtopped the paſſengers, and, pointing to the King's carriage, roared out, "Courage, my lads! We ſha'n't want "bread any more; we bring you the baker, "the baker's wife, and the baker's boy." Behind his Majeſty were ſome of his faithful Guards, part on foot, part on horſeback, moſt of them without hats, and all diſarmed and exhauſted with hunger and fatigue. The file of carriages was preceded, accompanied, and followed by the Dragoons, the Regiment of Flanders, the *Cent-Suiſſes*, and the National Guards.

I witneſſed this heart-breaking ſight—I beheld this ominous proceſſion—I ſaw, in the midſt of this tumult, of theſe clamours, of theſe ſongs, interrupted by frequent diſcharges of ſmall arms, which the hand of treachery or of awkwardneſs might have rendered ſo fatal—I ſaw, with tears of admiration and of grief, the Queen preſerving the moſt undaunted tranquillity of mind, an inexpreſſible air of nobleneſs and dignity.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Agitation of the Capital on the Morning of the 6th of October—Remarkable Note of M. de la Fayette's—Arrival of the Brigands carrying in Triumph the Heads of the two Gardes-du-Corps—The Terror of the Pariſians diſſipated on hearing that the King and the Royal Family had ſet out for Paris—The King goes with his Family to the Hotel-de-Ville—Speech—The Queen's Preſence of Mind—Falſe Charges againſt the Gardes-du-Corps—A Letter from M. d'Eſtaing to the Queen—M. Augeard—The Scarcity of Bread ceaſes on the King's Arrival—Stupidity of the Pariſians—A Letter from the King to the Aſſembly—Proclamation—

Retreat

Retreat of ſeveral Deputies—The Municipality of Verſailles petition the Aſſembly not to remove from that Town, and expreſs their Wiſhes for the King's ſpeedy Return—Alarm of ſome of the Deputies —Mirabeau denounces M. de St. Prieſt —The Repoſitory for Pledges threatened to be pillaged; on what occaſion—Proceedings commenced upon the Outrages committed on the 5th and 6th of October —Alarms—M. de la Fayette compels the Duke of Orleans to ſet out for England.

DURING the night between the 5th and 6th of October, Paris was under the greateſt alarms. All the ſtreets were lighted up as at the beginning of the Revolution. Patrols and Deputations from Diſtricts were ſeen every moment going and coming, one after the other, to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, to learn news of the army. The Repreſentatives of the Commune had received none themſelves, and were very uneaſy at it, when one of the civil officers (*Deſmouſſeaux*) who had been commiſſioned to accompany the National Guards, arrived at ſix o'clock in the morning. He gave an account of the events of which he had been witneſs at Verſailles,

and delivered a note from the General to the Preſident, that informed him of the complete re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity. *M. de la Fayette* had written this note before he went to bed, and at the very moment it was read in the *Hotel-de-Ville*, the King's Palace was ſtained with the blood of his murdered Guards, and the moſt horrible outrages endangered the life of the Queen. The very ſame morning too, *M. de la Fayette*, not a quarter of an hour before he was dragged to Verſailles by the Paris mob, had written to the Aſſembly and to *M. de St. Prieſt*, to impart his hopes of the complete re-eſtabliſhment of the tranquillity of the Capital. This General was aſſuredly neither conjurer nor prophet; and his moſt encouraging diſpatches ſhould ever after have been the cauſe of diſmay.

Bills ſtuck up about the town by order of the Commune, on the 6th of October in the morning, removed the fears of the Pariſians, by informing them that the National Guards had experienced no hoſtility; that the King had received them kindly, and had admitted them to do duty about his perſon. Some hours after, the group of men and women who were carrying in triumph the heads of the

two *Gardes-du-Corps* murdered at the Palace made their appearance, and the horrid ſight again ſpread conſternation through the Capital. But a courier from *M. de la Fayette* and another advertiſement from the *Hotel-de-Ville* ſoon make it known to the public, that the King and the Royal Family are coming to Paris—and the moſt lively joy ſucceeds to the general grief. An immenſe body of people immediately fly to meet their Majeſties; and the crowd of the curious, attracted by ſo novel and unexpected a ſight, forms a lane from Paſſy to the *Hotel-de-Ville*.

M. Bailly went, according to cuſtom, to receive the King, and pay his compliments to him at the Barrier. It was about ſeven o'clock in the evening when his Majeſty arrived there. What diſguſt, what indignation muſt the Royal Family have felt, on hearing the Mayor of Paris, in his harangue, call it *a glorious day!* that day of carnage and of horror, on which the King of France, torn from his Palace by an army of ruffians, arrived at the *Hotel-de-Ville* of his Capital, preceded by the bleeding heads of his Guards, and forcibly dragged by their murderers!

The King and Queen holding their children by the hands entered the Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the Commune with an air of the greateſt ſerenity, and placed themſelves upon the throne which had been prepared for them. MONSIEUR, MADAME, and *Madame Elizabeth* accompanied their Majeſties. The immenſe crowd that filled the Hall expreſſed their joy by repeated cries of *Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine! Vive le Dauphin! Vive la Famille Royale!* . The Preſident of the Commune addreſſed his Majeſty in the following Speech:

" Sire, if ever the French ſhould forget " that it is their intereſt to cheriſh their " King, we would atteſt the virtues of " *Louis XVI.* to a People, among whom " the love of their Prince is rather a neceſ- " ſary enjoyment than a duty. You have " even, Sire, attached us more ſtrongly to " you, by adopting that Conſtitution which " will in future form a double tie between " the Throne and the Nation; and now, to " leave nothing for us to wiſh, you are " come with the deareſt objects, of your " affection to dwell amongſt us. How- " ever ardent the ſentiments that fill our " boſoms,

" boſoms, we will not preſume to ſay that " your choice has led you to thoſe of your " ſubjects who love you moſt; but when an " adored father is called upon by the deſires " of an immenſe family, he muſt naturally " prefer the place where the greateſt num- " ber of his children are aſſembled."

The King, having no other anſwer to make to this ſpeech than that which he had already made to *M. Bailly*, ordered him to repeat it. The words were, " It is always " with pleaſure and with confidence I find " myſelf among the inhabitants of my good " city of Paris *." *M. Bailly*, in repeating this reply, having forgotten the words *and with confidence*, the Queen in an audible voice immediately put him in mind of them. " Gentlemen," cried *M. Bailly*, " this is " more gratifying to you than if I had my- " ſelf repeated them." At theſe words, ſhouts and clapping of hands were reiterated,

* *Good City of Paris!* The Theatre of crimes more numerous and more atrocious than have been committed in all the cities of the world put together! In what then, and for whom art thou good? Alas! no longer art thou ſo but for villains.

and attended their Majeſties till they left the *Hotel-de-Ville*. The King and his family, oppreſſed with the fatigue of theſe two dreadful days, now went and took poſſeſſion of the Palace of the Thuilleries—or, rather, thither were they committed priſoners by *the good City of Paris*. MONSIEUR and MADAME went to the Palace of the Luxembourg.

On the following days the Revolutionary Journals, the Commune of Paris, and, above all, that monſtrous tribunal of inquiſition known by the name of the Committee of Inquiry, invented all kinds of calumnies to palliate the outrages of the preceding days, and to make a falſe impreſſion on the provinces and abroad. They publiſhed, that the People and the Pariſian National Guard had gone to Verſailles only to prevent the King from going to Metz; that the *Gardes-du-Corps* had excited the anger and reſentment of the National Guards by refuſing to drink to the health of the Nation at the entertainment given to the Regiment of Flanders; and that, if ſome of them had fallen on the 6th, it had been owing to their own imprudence in firing on the people. The falſe-

hood

hood of this laſt charge was judicially proved, as I have already obſerved; and in ſupport of the two firſt no authority was ever cited except the foul copies of two letters pretended to be written to the Queen by the Count *d'Eſtaing*, ſeized among his papers in a revolutionary ſearch which was made at his houſe*; and a plan for the King's eſcape, which *M. Augeard* (*Fermier General*) had drawn up without being bid, intending to offer it to his Majeſty if ever he ſhould have occaſion for it. He had not communicated this plan to any body, when his ſecretary was villain enough to take the minute of it from him in order to lay it before the Committee of Police at the *Hotel-de-Ville*. *M. Augeard* was ſent to priſon, informations were encouraged and rewarded, and a great number of perſons were arreſted on ſuſpicion of being concerned in this pretended conſpiracy. It was made the grounds of a criminal proceeding, which was carried on at the Chatelet with the greateſt parade, and which ended in *M. Augeard's* being acquitted.

With reſpect to the copies of letters ſeized

* See Appendix, No. vi.

among

among *M. d'Eſtaing's* papers, they certainly contained that incoherence of ideas, that emphatic tone, that obſcure and perplexed ſtyle, which mark all his writings: it is therefore poſſible that thoſe papers were really found in his houſe, and I have no difficulty in believing it. But they who were acquainted with *M. d'Eſtaing*, know that one of his fancies, and he had many, was to imagine himſelf in correſpondence with perſons of high rank, and to write many copies of letters which he never directed to them, and which he often even left unfiniſhed, though he preſerved them with the greateſt care. Among the number were his two letters to the Queen: he never had ſent them to her Majeſty; and had ſhe even received them ſhe could have paid no attention to them, for in fact nothing that *M. d'Eſtaing* wrote or ſaid merited any. I uſed to meet him very often at *M. de Montmorin's*; but never did I know a man who ſo little juſtified his reputation as this famous conqueror of Grenada. Incapable of forming a juſt idea upon any thing whatever, he miſtook the nature of danger as of every thing elſe; ſo that he was ſometimes found encountering the greateſt with the raſhneſs of a mad-

a madman, and on occaſions a thouſand times leſs perilous betraying the fearfulneſs of a child. His cowardice on the 5th and 6th of October was unparalleled; and yet it was to his great reputation for bravery that he was indebted for his extraordinary promotion.

After the King's arrival, the bakers' ſhops were no longer beſieged, and proviſions exceeded the wants of the conſumers, though their number had been conſiderably augmented by the Court's being eſtabliſhed in the capital. This dreadful ſcarcity, which had been made the pretence for the inſurrection of the 5th of October, was clearly then only a contrived one, only a powerful means, the effects of which the Agents of the *Orleans* Faction ſuſpended or prolonged as they pleaſed; for the fifty cart-loads of grain or of flour, brought by the mob to Paris, were certainly not ſufficient to reſtore plenty, being literally no more than a breakfaſt for the Pariſians. But as it was become an eſſential object to the conſpirators, that the King ſhould be deprived of the liberty of going out of Paris, they neglected no meaſure which could make the people believe that it was to the preſence of his Majeſty they were

were indebted for not wanting bread. This fatal impoſture, artfully diſguiſed in expreſſions of gratitude and homage to *Louis XVI.* was proclaimed in all their Journals, and fooliſhly repeated in the ſpeeches of all the Deputations ſent to their Majeſties the day after their arrival.

An immenſe multitude were conſtantly going to the Thuilleries: the garden and courts were full the whole day through, and the moment the King and Queen appeared at any window, the joy of the people broke out into the moſt rapturous acclamations and clapping. The ſame homage was paid to their children and to *Madame Elizabeth.*— The King, affected by all theſe demonſtrations, and miſtaking for love what was only ſtupidity, reconciled himſelf the more readily to the idea of fixing his abode at Paris, as the atrocious conduct of the inhabitants of Verſailles could not but diſguſt him with that ungrateful town. His Majeſty, in conſequence, wrote the following letter to the National Aſſembly:

" The teſtimonies of affection and of al-
" legiance which I have received from the
" City of Paris determine me to make it the
" place

" place of my uſual reſidence; and fully " depending upon the aſſurance which the " Aſſembly gave me, I deſire that they will " ſend Commiſſioners to Paris to chooſe the " moſt convenient ſituation for holding their " Sittings. Thus, without interrupting their " uſeful labours, I ſhall render the com- " munication which ought to exiſt between " me and the National Aſſembly more " punctual and more intimate."

On the ſame day (October 9) the King cauſed a Proclamation to be iſſued which ran thus:

" The King, fearing leſt his faithful ſub- " jects of the Provinces ſhould learn with " pain the circumſtances that have deter- " mined him to reſide in Paris, thinks it " proper to inform them, that being ap- " priſed before-hand of the march of the " National Militia of Paris, and of their " deſire of obtaining from his Majeſty the " honour of being his guard, it would have " been eaſy for the King to have removed " from Verſailles to any other place beſides " Paris; but his Majeſty fearing that ſuch " a determination on his part might be the

" cauſe

" cauſe of great commotion, and relying
" upon the affection which he has a right to
" expect from all his ſubjects indiſcrimi-
" nately, he is come with confidence to
" live in the Capital, where he has re-
" ceived the moſt reſpectful demonſtrations
" of love and allegiance from the inhabi-
" tants of his good City of Paris. He is
" certain that they will never attempt *to*
" *reſtrain in any ſhape the determination*
" *of their Sovereign*, and it is in the midſt
" of them that he announces to all the in-
" habitants of his Provinces, that, when
" the National Aſſembly ſhall have finiſhed
" the great work of the reſtoration of pub-
" lic happineſs, the King will put into exe-
" cution the plan he has long had in con-
" templation of viſiting his Provinces with-
" out any parade, in order to make him-
" ſelf more particularly acquainted with
" the good he may do them, and to prove
" to them, in the warmth of his heart, that
" they are all equally dear to him. He antici-
" pates in hope his being received by them
" with marks of affection and confidence,
" which will ever be the object of his
" wiſhes and the real ſource of his hap-
" pineſs. The King alſo flatters himſelf

" that

" that this declaration on his part will en-
" gage all the inhabitants of his Provinces
" to ſecond by their encouragement the la-
" bours of the National Aſſembly, ſo that,
" under the ſhelter of a happy Conſtitution,
" France may ſoon enjoy thoſe days of
" peace and of tranquillity which ſhe has
" long been deprived of by an unfortunate
" diviſion."

From the time that the King had left Verſailles, the National Aſſembly, having remained behind, continued coolly diſcuſſing ſome conſtitutional articles. They doubtleſs thought that they were keeping their dignity up *to the height of circumſtances**, by affecting to conſider with the moſt profound indifference all the outrages they had juſt been witneſſes of. But their diſcuſſions were frequently interrupted by complaints of inſults and menaces directed for ſome days paſt againſt a great number of the Deputies. Many of them, little encouraged by the Decree which had declared their perſons inviolable, withdrew themſelves, and

* *A la hauteur des circonſtances*—A Revolutionary expreſſion.

in the ſpace of two days the Preſident had been obliged to give paſſports to about three hundred of his colleagues, among whom were the Biſhop of *Langres*, *M. de Lally*, and *M. Mounier*. The Aſſembly, alarmed at the multiplicity of theſe deſertions, put a ſtop to them, by decreeing, that in future no paſſport ſhould be granted to any of the members but upon grounds ſtated to and approved by the Aſſembly.

There is no doubt but at this time the Factious employed all the means they could derive from circumſtances, to alarm and remove, by threats of perſonal danger, all thoſe whoſe talents and influence were likely to embarraſs them. It would nevertheleſs be a very great miſtake to ſuppoſe that all the Deputies who retired were induced by motives of fear. Thoſe whom I have named cannot certainly be accounted in this claſs. The Biſhop of *Langres* being on the 5th of October in the King's Chamber, where he paſſed the whole day, ſaid very animatedly to the Archbiſhop of *Aix*, before the Archbiſhop of *Rheims* and the Biſhop of *Laon*: "Now more than ever are we bound to remain in our place, to ſhow our courage."—"If the King goes, I go, if he

he remains, I remain," replied the Archbiſhop of *Aix*: "wherever he is we ought to be—we have no force to defend him, but we do our duty." On the ſame day *Mounier* diſplayed the greateſt courage, and *M. de Lally*, more inured than they, ſtill preſerved too much popularity to give room to the factious to flatter themſelves that they could frighten him. But they were all as diſguſted as diſcouraged at ſeeing the factious triumph ſo completely, and compel the King not only to ſanction the new conſtitutional principles, but to fix his reſidence at Paris. They could no longer hope to perſuade the Aſſembly to return to the ſyſtem of two houſes, which from the beginning they had adopted as the moſt proper to render a Monarchical Revolution, which they ſaw approaching, and which, perhaps, they were too haſty in judging inevitable. They doubtleſs likewiſe foreſaw the fatal conſequences of the outrages of the 6th of October; and convinced that they ſhould labour in vain to prevent them, they choſe to reſign their places, and withdraw from the ſtate of inability and inutility to which they ſaw themſelves reduced.

The retreat of nearly half of the Bishops ought much leſs to be attributed to fear than to indignation, to the conviction that all was loſt, and the embarraſſment that would naturally be produced by ſuch criminal violence, among men whoſe ſituation, and the habits of tranquil life rendered them ſtrangers to civil commotions. Amidſt this ſtruggle of different factions they ſaw no poſt tenable; and as they deſpaired of all the efforts they could make, they did not think that they failed in their duty by not attempting a uſeleſs defence. Their ſupport was ſtill given to the writings and ſpeeches of the defenders of the Clergy.

I am very far from blaming the motives of the Deputies who withdrew themſelves at this period. Without a doubt they were very pure and very laudable; yet it is but too true that the conſequences of their withdrawing were diſaſtrous. How many unjuſt and atrocious Decrees might we not cite, which paſſed by a very ſmall majority, and which their votes would have prevented! If there had been ſufficient unanimity in the Order of the Clergy, and in that of the Nobility, to have induced one or both of

of them to have retired altogether in a body, their retreat might have been of the moſt important ſervice; it would have annulled all the Acts of that Aſſembly of uſurpers, and rendered its diſſolution inevitable; whereas a partial deſertion of worthy men from all the Orders could but enſure a majority to the factious, and triumph to villains. In general, in thoſe great political commotions from which the State is in danger, no man called by circumſtances or his duty into any office whatever, can leave it with honour, and without failing in what he owes to his country; *it is there*, and there only, that it has need of his ſervice; and if he deſerts his poſt he renders himſelf anſwerable not only for the loſs of all the good he could have done in it, but for all the evil which he might have prevented.

The fear of ſeeing the National Aſſembly transferred to Paris not only made a great number of its members uneaſy, but the citizens of Verſailles alſo began to be alarmed at it; they who two days before had rendered that event inevitable, by the crimes for which they had given the ſignal, and of which they had ſet the example to the brigands of Paris! What indignation muſt it

not have excited to hear the Municipality of that guilty town expreſſing at the bar of the Aſſembly "*the ſorrow of its inhabitants* "*for the loſs they had experienced*, and for "that with which they were threatened! ſup- "plicating the Aſſembly not to deſert Ver- "ſailles, but to be the interpreters of their "love to the King, and of their wiſhes "for his Majeſty's return to a town which "had been for two centuries the cradle and "the reſidence of their Kings *." The Preſi- dent politely replied to this ſpeech, that the Aſſembly would take the regrets and requeſt of the inhabitants of Verſailles into conſi- deration. On the next day, however, they received the letter in which the King inform- ed them of his determination to fix his reſi- dence at Paris, and it was reſolved that they ſhould remove thither as ſoon as the Com- miſſioners whom they appointed ſhould have choſen and prepared a proper place.

* The reſidence of our Kings had rendered the marſhy and unwholeſome hamlet of Verſailles one of the moſt conſiderable towns of the Kingdom. Its beſt houſes had been built by the providers or the penſioners of the Court, and all the inhabitants owed their eaſe to its favours, or to the advantages ariſing from its reſi- dence.

The

The deliberations of the Aſſembly were conſtantly interrupted by freſh complaints of threats received by the Deputies, and by motions for renewing the decree which had declared them inviolable, for ſecuring the freedom of the votes, and the like. In order to divert the diſputes, reproaches, and mutual charges which this debate gave riſe to among the different parties, *Mirabeau* had the effrontery to advance, that the ſecret blows given to the Aſſembly proceeded from a higher quarter: "It is publicly "known (ſaid he) that a Miniſter, and "that Miniſter is *M. de St. Prieſt,* ſaid to "the phalanx of women who were crying "for bread, *When you had but one King* "*you were not in want of bread; now that* "*you have twelve hundred, go and apply* "*to them.*" He moved that the Committee of Reports be charged to inquire into this fact. *M. de St. Prieſt,* however, refuted the accuſation, by the moſt formal contradiction, in a letter which he wrote the ſame day to the Chairman of the Committee, and *Mirabeau*'s denunciation was taken no farther notice of.

At the ſame Sitting a Deputation of the

Repreſentatives of the Commune of Paris went and expreſſed to the Aſſembly their extreme joy at the reſolution which they had taken of removing their Sittings to the Capital; adding "the aſſurance of the "moſt profound reſpect of all the inhabi-"tants of Paris for the decrees of the Aſ-"ſembly, and an inviolable promiſe of tak-"ing every means of enſuring the tranquil-"lity and freedom of their deliberations, "and of warranting the perſonal inviolabi-"lity of every one of the members." Theſe promiſes in ſome meaſure quieted the apprehenſions of thoſe who were alarmed for their ſafety; and it was decreed in the following Sitting, that the Aſſembly ſhould remove on Monday the 19th of October, and continue their meetings, *pro tempore*, at the Palace belonging to the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, till the place where they were to be permanently eſtabliſhed was prepared for their reception.

Tranquillity ſeemed to be reſtored in the Capital, when ſome expreſſions ariſing from the Queen's goodneſs, miſunderſtood, or miſinterpreted to the people, occaſioned a ſeditious commotion, in conſequence of which

the Repoſitory for Pledges* very narrowly eſcaped being pillaged. The Fiſhwomen of Paris, emboldened by the gracious manner with which the Queen had received them, applied to her Majeſty to obtain by her interference a free return of all the things pledged at the Repoſitory for a ſum under four-and-twenty livres. Though to this requeſt the Queen had only anſwered by general expreſſions of good-will, her anſwer was conſidered as a poſitive promiſe: it was even announced, that all who had ſuch effects in the Repoſitory would receive them on producing cards or tickets ſealed, which were to be diſtributed among them. The eagerneſs to obtain theſe tickets attracted the very next day about the Thuilleries an immenſe mob, whom it was with much difficulty the Guards prevented from entering the Palace, by aſſuring them that the tickets they were calling loudly for were not to be given there. It was then ſpread about, that the diſtribution of them was made at the Diſ-

* The Repoſitory for Pledges, *Mont-de-Piété*, was an eſtabliſhment inſtituted by the Government to prevent the ruinous practice and uſury of pawnbrokers. Pledges were received, a third of the real value lent, and the intereſt was very moderate.

tricts; whither the crowd immediately ran. The Commiſſioners of the Diſtricts, not comprehending what was meant by this demand of tickets, and not being authoriſed to give any, ſent them all away very much diſſatisfied. Their murmurs were ſoon followed by noiſes and violent threats againſt the Repoſitory; and if a ſtrong guard had not been immediately ſent to defend it, it would infallibly have been pillaged or burnt.

The King was, nevertheleſs, deſirous to realize, as far as the exigencies of the State would ſuffer him, the hopes which the Queen's expreſſion might have raiſed: he ordered an account to be laid before him of what the free return of all the effects pledged at the Repoſitory for leſs than twenty-four livres would amount to; and finding that the expence would be more than three millions, he cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued, expreſſing, in the moſt affecting manner, his Majeſty's regret at not being able to extend as far as he could wiſh the comfort of the moſt indigent claſs of the Capital. This proclamation announced, at the ſame time, the free return of all winter clothes and linen pledged for ſums under twenty-four livres. The King took the ſum required for this

his act of charity, which was conſiderable, from his own private purſe.

The inquiries commenced concerning the inſtigators of the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October, and what tranſpired from ſome depoſitions received by the Commiſſioners of the Chatelet appointed to conduct the proceedings, ſoon fixed the public attention. The witneſſes examined ſpoke openly of the contents of their depoſitions; from which it appeared, that the inſurrection of the 5th of October had been ſecretly directed by leaders who were pointed out and had been encouraged by diſtributions of money and brandy, which was imputed to a faction: the Duke of *Orleans* was named, and ſeveral Members of the Aſſembly with him. Violent motions were made againſt him every day, even in the *Palais-Royal* which the people talked of burning; and alſo of puniſhing the Duke of *Orleans* as a traitor, who had only taken the maſk of patriotiſm to deceive the Nation, and to make them the inſtrument of his ambitious projects.

At the ſame time he was extolled by ſeveral revolutionary journaliſts, who, labouring

ing to divert the agitation of the people into a contrary channel, were daily denouncing new plots of their own invention, anti-patriotic enrolments, pretended collections of arms made by the Ariſtocrats, and the like. The various commotions produced by theſe ſuſpicions and agitations were preparing the way for a new exploſion, the iſſue of which the preſence of the Duke of *Orleans*, his riches, the talents of his Counſellors, and the villainy of his agents, might have rendered doubtful. *M. de la Fayette* was ſo much alarmed as to propoſe removing the Duke, as a meaſure indiſpenſable for the reſtoration of public tranquillity, and even for the ſafety of the Royal Family, and undertook to perſuade him to leave the kingdom: to do which it was only neceſſary to frighten him, and nothing was eaſier. This negotiation did not take up much time, and the particulars of it are ſtill unknown: the promiſe given to the Duke of *Orleans*, that they ſhould be kept ſecret, has been held ſacred, and *M. de la Fayette* is the only perſon now who can tell the whole; a part was told by *Mirabeau*, at the time that the report was made to the Aſſembly of the proceedings

ceedings at the Chatelet againſt the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October.

" I learn from public report, (ſaid he) " that after a converſation between *M.* " *d'Orleans* and *M. de la Fayette*, very " imperious on one ſide, and very reſigned " on the other, the former has accepted a " miſſion, or rather has received orders to " go to England. I inſtantly foreſaw the " conſequences of ſuch a ſtep. To make " the friends of liberty uneaſy, to ſpread " clouds over the principles of the Revolu- " tion, to furniſh a new pretext to the diſ- " contented, to ſeclude the King more and " more, and to ſow both at home and " abroad freſh ſeeds of diſtruſt, are the ef- " fects which this precipitate departure, " which this condemnation without accu- " ſation muſt produce. Above all, it leaves " without a rival the man, whom the fortune " of events has raiſed to a new Dictator- " ſhip; the man who at this moment is " adjuſting in the boſom of liberty a Police " more expeditious than that of the old " ſyſtem; the man who by that Police has " juſt received a body of accuſation without " accuſing; the man who by inſiſting on " *M. d'Orleans'* departure, inſtead of im-

" peaching

" peaching him if he were guilty, had en-
" croached upon the inviolability of the
" Members of the Aſſembly. My reſolu-
" tion was taken immediately; and I told
" *M. de Biron*, with whom I never had
" any political connection, though I have
" ever greatly eſteemed him, and from
" whom I have ſeveral times received
" friendly ſervices, that *M. d'Orleans* was
" unthinkingly about to leave the poſt which
" his Conſtituents had confided to him;
" that, if he did, I ſhould denounce and
" oppoſe his departure; if he remained,
" and diſcovered the inviſible hand that at-
" tempted to remove him, I would de-
" nounce the authority that ſuperſedes that
" of the laws: let him take which of theſe
" alternatives he pleaſed. *M. de Biron*
" anſwered me with high-flown ſentiments,
" ſuch as I expected; and *M. d'Orleans*,
" on being made acquainted with my deter-
" mination, promiſed to follow my advice;
" but the very next day, while I was in the
" Aſſembly, I received a note from *M. de*
" *Biron*, which informed me of the Duke's
" departure. I confeſs, that in a tranſport
" of indignation I made uſe of an expreſ-
" ſion, which the reporter ſhould have made

" known,

" known, to take the liberty of taxing it " with indiſcretion, and which I think " myſelf was inſolent."

This expreſſion was the ſame that Doctor *Fiſſe*, the 55th witneſs, declared in his depoſition was uſed by *Mirabeau* in the Aſſembly, to the perſons about him, when he ſhowed them the letter informing him of the departure of the Duke of *Orleans*: " There, " read! (ſaid he.) He is a daſtardly var- " let; a dirty ſcoundrel, that does not de- " ſerve the trouble that has been taken for " him." The ſame witneſs alſo declared in his depoſition, " That the Duke of *Orleans* " being determined to go over to England, " *Mirabeau*, to divert him from his purpoſe, " had told him that there were only ſuſpi- " cions againſt him; that on this obſerva- " tion, the Duke of *Orleans* had reſolved " not to go; that *Mirabeau* had agreed " with him to denounce him; and that on " the day appointed for that purpoſe he " had received a letter from the Duke of " *Orleans*, conſiſting of theſe words: *I* " *have changed my opinion; do nothing;* " *we will meet to-night.*"

For want of the light which *M. de la Fayette*

Fayette might throw upon this circumſtance, we are under the neceſſity of ſearching for the truth in *Mirabeau*'s account, corrected by the depoſition I have quoted. The promiſe made by *Mirabeau* to the Duke of *Orleans*, to denounce him to the Aſſembly, is very eaſily explained. It would have been the part of a real friend to have denounced him before the proceedings were more advanced; it would have been bringing on his trial at a time when there only exiſted ſuſpicions againſt him, and when conſequently the impoſſibility of condemning him would have effected his acquittal. It is certain, at leaſt, that this hope made ſufficient impreſſion upon the Duke of *Orleans* to make him heſitate whether he ſhould keep his word of going to England or not. Then it was, no doubt, that *M. de la Fayette* aſſumed towards him the imperious and menacing tone. He even ſtrengthened his menaces with a ſtep the moſt likely to convince him of their being very ſerious. On the 13th of October he ſent an Officer of the National Guard to Verſailles, commiſſioned to demand of the Aſſembly, on his part, a decree, declaring, that no place

place was privileged for perſons guilty of the crime of treaſon againſt the Nation; and the Aſſembly had immediately decreed, that State Criminals might be arreſted in any place wherever they were to be found. The Duke of *Orleans* being frightened no longer heſitated; and the next day, at the opening of the Sitting, the Preſident announced that the Duke demanded a paſſport for England, whither he was going on a miſſion of a very urgent nature. This demand was accompanied by a letter from *M. de Montmorin*, informing the Preſident that the inſtructions to be given to the Duke of *Orleans* were preparing with great haſte. It is more than probable, that to obtain and reward this condeſcenſion, *M. de la Fayette* engaged to ſay nothing, in his depoſition at the Chatelet, which could expoſe the Duke: if it were ſo, it was promiſing to take a falſe oath, and *M. de la Fayette* kept this promiſe moſt ſcrupulouſly; he ſwore in the face of juſtice that he ſpoke all he knew, and his depoſition is one of the moſt inſignificant in the whole proceedings.

The laſt Sittings held by the Aſſembly at Verſailles were employed in diſcuſſing and decreeing

decreeing ſome Conſtitutional Articles; and particularly that by which the title of *King of France and Navarre* was aboliſhed, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the Deputies of Navarre: *King of the French was judged leſs deſpotic, more conformable to the unity of the Monarchy, and more proper to recall to the minds of Kings, that they are the chiefs of men, and not the owners and maſters of the land.* In this manner it was, that in this Aſſembly of the *Lycurgueſes* of a day, round ſonorous phraſes were always enough to enſure the ſucceſs of the moſt extravagant innovations. In fact, if there could be a ſuppoſition more abſurd than that of a King the maſter of any country whatever, without being the chief obeyed by all thoſe who inhabit it, it would be that of a Kingdom, the King of which, ſufficiently powerful to compel the obedience of all his ſubjects, was not the maſter of the country. What means would the King have in the firſt caſe for preſerving, for a ſingle inſtant, the ſovereignty over the country? and in the ſecond, who would be able, or who would dare to diſpute it with him? Alas! there was nothing more remaining for

Louis

Louis XVI. than the empty title of King of France, when the Aſſembly ſtripped him of it to ſubſtitute that of *King of the French*, which was no leſs empty. The French no longer obeyed him, and the whole of France, not even excepting the patrimonial domains of the Royal Family, was about to become the property of the Nation.

CHAPTER XIX.

The King obliged to diſmiſs the Gardes-du-Corps—The Aſſembly remove to Paris—A Baker hanged by the People, and his Head placed on a Pike—Martial Law decreed—Denunciations againſt the Miniſters—The Aſſembly ſend for the Keeper of the Seals—Memorial of the Miniſters addreſſed to the Aſſembly—Debate on the Property of the Clergy, which is decreed to be at the Diſpoſal of the Nation—Aſſemblies of the Nobility in ſeveral Provinces; the Advantage that might be made of them—The Conduct of the Aſſembly on the Occaſion—The Aſſembly ſuſpend all the Parliaments of the Kingdom—The Conduct of the Courts of Vaca-

tions—Weakneſs of the Miniſtry—Mandate of the Biſhop of Treguier—The States of Cambreſis recall their Deputies to the Aſſembly, and annul their Powers—The Aſſembly declare that Proceeding void.

THE ancient Palace of the Thuilleries, which had been uninhabited ſince the minority of *Louis XV.* was not fitted to any of thoſe enjoyments of luxury, pleaſure, and convenience, which habit renders a want, and which the King was accuſtomed to find in all the other Royal ſeats. But *Louis XVI.* thought nothing of the loſs of his perſonal enjoyments, in the hope that his preſence would reſtore order to the Capital; where he was hardly arrived, when the Pariſians were barbarous enough to wring from him a much more painful ſacrifice. His brave *Gardes-du-Corps*, whoſe fidelity and heroic devotion had been lately ſo wonderfully diſplayed, excited the jealouſy of the Pariſians; who ought to have experienced no other ſentiment in reſpect of them, than an anxiety to repair the unheard of cruelties and numberleſs outrages committed upon thoſe worthy and loyal Knights. Not ſatiſ-

fied with ſeeing the French Guards re-inſtated in all the poſts occupied by them before their defection, the people inſiſted that the duty performed by the *Gardes-du-Corps* within the Palace, about the King and his family, ſhould be taken by the National Guard; to which his Majeſty was forced to conſent.

Paris remained tranquil for the firſt fortnight after the King's arrival. On Monday the 19th of October the Aſſembly proceeded to buſineſs in the Capital. The firſt day paſſed in deputations and harangues to the King, and from the Municipality to the Aſſembly. But next morning new mobs collected about the doors of the bakers. One of theſe, falſely accuſed of concealing his bread, by a woman who could not procure any, was conducted to the *Hotel-de-Ville* by the National Guard. The Repreſentatives of the Commune, having taken the depoſitions of his neighbours, and of the Deputies of his Diſtrict, who all atteſted that ſince the Revolution he had rendered the greateſt ſervices to his quarter, by baking ten batches of bread in a day, uſed every effort to calm the people, and to convince them of the baker's innocence, but were only anſwered with

with ſhouts of fury and the moſt violent threats. One of the Repreſentatives was ſeized by the collar by thoſe furies, and detained as a hoſtage in a corner of the Hall. He was told that his head ſhould anſwer for the eſcape of the accuſed perſon. The ſtorm increaſed, from the immenſe crowd which the National Guard had ſuffered to enter the *Hotel-de-Ville* without the ſlighteſt reſiſtance. Still the Committee of Police made a laſt effort to ſave this unfortunate baker; propoſing to examine him in the great Hall, in the preſence of the people, who ſhould pronounce his fate after having heard him. But the people did not want to judge, they wanted to cut the throat of their victim, and did cut his throat; for I heard from an eye-witneſs, that this baker, who was certainly carried to the lantern merely *through form*, was not dead when his head was cut off, to place it according to cuſtom on a pike, and carry it through the ſtreets in triumph. The wife of this unfortunate man, who was at the time three months advanced in pregnancy, running up to his aſſiſtance, ſaw the bloody head of her huſband, and, at the ſight of the horrible trophy, fell

breathleſs, as if ſhe had been ſtruck with lightning.

A Deputation of the Repreſentatives of the Commune went immediately to the Aſſembly, to give an account of this event. The mournful complaints and avowals contained in the recital of thoſe Deputies would prove, if it were needful, that it is much eaſier to uſurp the ſupreme power than to exerciſe it *. It is an inſtrument for which all hands are not fit; force is enough to take hold of it and raiſe it, but it requires ability, wiſdom, and long uſe, to handle it properly.

It was on this occaſion, and at the ſame Sitting, that martial law was decreed againſt mobs, in ſpite of the oppoſition of *Robeſpierre*, who thought this ſtep too violent, and wiſhed wiſe meaſures to be taken in order to diſcover the ſource of the evil.

* "We have been threatened and ſtruck by women; "our heads were made to anſwer for that of the baker. "We come to implore your aſſiſtance; we are without "force, and without proviſions. We beſeech you, in "the name of humanity, to aid us, and decree martial "law. Muſt we tell it, Gentlemen? our ſoldiers fell "back! our ſoldiers deſerted us! We pray you to pro- "vide for the ſubſiſtence of the Capital."

Speech of the Deputation of the Commune.

"To

" To diſconcert (added he) the conſpiracy, " which perhaps at the moment I am ſpeak- " ing leaves us no alternative but to ſacri- " fice ourſelves brilliantly. It is neceſſary " to appoint a tribunal truly National—it is " neceſſary to hear the Committee of Re- " ports—to hear the Committee of Inquiry " —to diſcover the conſpiracy—to ſtifle the " conſpiracy." *M. de Cazalès* ſtopped him, by calling upon him to explain his notions reſpecting a conſpiracy, or of being held criminal towards the Nation and towards the Aſſembly.

Juſtice for a moment reſumed her courſe; the baker's murderer was arreſted the ſame day, condemned to death, and executed next morning with another villain convicted of having diſtributed hand-bills exciting an inſurrection.

The Royal Family were deeply affected to find theſe exceſſes of popular fury, theſe bloody ſcenes, ſo ſuddenly renewed, and almoſt before their eyes. The King and Queen immediately ſent to the baker's widow, to inform her how much they felt for her misfortune. Their Majeſties charged the Duke *de Liancourt* to go and aſſure her of their protection, and to give her for them

a ſum of two thouſand crowns, to aſſiſt her in carrying on her buſineſs. The Commune alſo deputed ſome of their Members to go and conſole her, and offer her aſſiſtance: but the unfortunate young woman, a widow in the ſpring of life, and dying herſelf with deſpair, aſked, as the only favour, that the laſt duties might be paid to the ſad remains of her huſband. He was buried honourably, and ſeveral Members of the Commune attended his funeral.

The National Aſſembly in changing their place of meeting did not change their plan. At Paris as at Verſailles they continued to accuſe the Executive Power, and the negligence or perfidy of its agents, of all the troubles and calamities that afflicted France. In the very ſecond Sitting at the Capital, they called for the Keeper of the Seals to give an account of his conduct, and particularly of the motives for his delays in the diſperſion and publication of the decrees of the Aſſembly.

The next day they decreed, that the Miniſters ſhould declare poſitively what were the means and the reſources which the National Aſſembly could furniſh them with, to enable them to ſecure ſubſiſtence for the Kingdom, and particularly for the Capital; ſo that the Aſſembly,

Aſſembly, on doing all that was in their power for that purpoſe, might depend upon the laws being executed, or render the Miniſters and other agents of Adminiſtration reſponſible for the neglect of them. This decree was paſſed at the ſame Sitting in which the Keeper of the Seals had been heard, and had given the moſt ſatisfactory account of his conduct and of that of his colleagues, of their zeal, and of the purity of their intentions.

The Miniſters did not fall into the ſnare that was laid for them by this Decree; and their anſwer ſo much embarraſſed their antagoniſts, that after hearing it read no one roſe to reply to it: and the Aſſembly not knowing how to act, adjourned; after they had reſolved, however, that the Miniſters' Memorial ſhould not be printed.

This Memorial contained a faithful report of the efforts which the King had never ceaſed making to ſecure ſupplies of proviſion for the Capital; of the reſources that might be expected from the neighbouring provinces and from abroad; of the meaſures taken to prevent exportation; of the means uſed to encourage the interior circulation; of the obſtacles raiſed to it by the oppoſition

oppoſition of the provinces, towns, and villages, in ſpite of the decrees of the National Aſſembly, *which had not yet acquired the aſcendant which, no doubt, they would acquire in time.* "The difficulties which "obſtruct their execution," obſerved the Miniſters, "ariſe from the diſobedience of "the perſons employed, from the tribu- "nals being diſcouraged and diſguſted, and "from the abuſe of the liberty of the preſs: "the Committees, Diſtricts, and National "Guard, all preſent a picture of diviſion. "Peace is every where ſought in vain; ſub- "ordination, which enſures it, is no where "to be found.—Who could point out what "it would be neceſſary to do, ſo that the "reſponſibility demanded, and the ſecurity "on the part of the Miniſters, would not "be the height of imprudence?—We de- "clare to you that we enter into no ſuch "engagement; that if you perſiſt in re- "quiring it in the name of the Nation, we "ſhall reſign our places to men who may "be raſh enough to encounter without ap- "prehenſion the hazard of circumſtances. "—It would be neceſſary to be called to "deliberate among you, or at leaſt in con- "ference with ſome of your Members,

"upon

" upon the queſtions that have occupied
" you for ſome months; it would be alſo
" neceſſary to baniſh all diſtruſt; it would
" be neceſſary to have a confidence found-
" ed on eſteem. If other perſons have the
" means which we have not, point them
" out to us and we will meet them. It re-
" quires more courage to keep ſuch places
" than to reſign them."

Such was, thus early, the inſignificant and wretched part which the King's Miniſters were reduced to play. Denounced, accuſed, and ſent for on every queſtion, they ſpent their time in detecting impoſtures.—Mr. *Necker* himſelf could only groan and ſink viſibly into nothing, while the Aſſembly purſued as rapidly as audaciouſly their ſyſtem of deſtruction and uſurpation. Before they left Verſailles they had opened the debate relative to the poſſeſſions of the Clergy, " the property of which (according to the Biſhop of *Autun's* motion *) " ought to be " declared to belong to the Nation, provid-" ing, nevertheleſs, in a proper manner for " the decency of worſhip, the maintenance " of the Miniſters of the Goſpel, and the

* In the Sitting of the 10th of October.

" relief

" relief of the Poor." The law of the ſtrongeſt being the only one that could be applied to for the ſupport of a motion ſo contrary to all the principles and laws of every country; they who brought this queſtion forward judged it would be important to delay the deciſion of it till the time came when their arguments might be ſeconded by the manœuvres of the ſtock-jobbers, by the vociferations and menaces of the brigands of the Capital, and even by the proximity of the fatal lantern. For this purpoſe this important diſcuſſion, which was entered upon in the Sitting of the 12th of October, on a motion of *Mirabeau's* tending to eſtabliſh the principles contained in that of the Biſhop of *Autun*, was interrupted by other motions, or by debates on ſome conſtitutional points, and was not reſumed at Paris till the 23d of the ſame month. The rights of the Clergy, defended eloquently, logically, and learnedly, by the Archbiſhop of *Aix* and the Abbé *Maury*, were attacked only with ſophiſms, declamations, or groſs jeſts on monks and nuns; but the Nation, that is to ſay, the choſen brigands, with whom care had been taken to fill the galleries and avenues of the Hall, pleading and voting

after

after their faſhion for the plunder of the Clergy, it was decreed by the following Act:—

"The National Aſſembly decree, 1ſt, That "all Eccleſiaſtical Property is at the diſpo- "ſal of the Nation, but charged with pro- "viding, in a proper manner, for the ex- "pences of Divine Worſhip, the main- "tenance of its Miniſters, and the relief of "the Poor, under the inſpection and ac- "cording to the inſtructions of the Pro- "vinces.

"2dly, That in the diſpoſition to be "made for ſupplying the Miniſters of Re- "ligion, the ſums to be ſettled on Cures "ſhall in no inſtance be leſs than 1200 li- "vres, excluſive of the houſe and garden "appendant *."

The

* This Decree, on which the votes were counted, paſſed by 568 againſt 346: there were 40 votes null. If the 246 members who were abſent from this Sitting had attended, and voted againſt the Decree, it would have been rejected by 592 voices againſt 568. Perſons fond of the ridiculous, remarked that it was on LE JOUR DES MORTS, *(All Souls day)* Nov. 2, 1789, on the motion of a prelate (the Biſhop *d'Autun*), while the Clergy's Counſel *(Camus)* was Preſident, and in the Hall of the

The intervals in the diſcuſſion of this grand buſineſs ſeaſonably managed to weaken the impreſſions that might have been left by the ſpeeches favourable to the Clergy, were filled up with denunciations of inſurrections on account of the want of proviſions, with ſome Decrees of conſtitutional articles, and with debates that took place on the conduct of the Nobility in ſome Provinces; a conduct at which the Aſſembly were greatly alarmed: and it was not without reaſon, for they and the Revolution would have been annihilated in leſs than a month, if they had not taken the prompteſt meaſures to prevent the conduct of thoſe Provinces from being followed by the others. This circumſtance is too important to be paſſed over without ſome notice of the leading points.

The Nation did not look upon the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October as phlegmatically as their Repreſentatives did. They had excited the moſt general indignation; and cries of vengeance were heard in

the Archbiſhop of *Paris's* Palace, that the National Aſſembly had declared, that all the property of the Clergy was at the diſpoſal of the Nation.

every

every part of the Kingdom. The intermediate Commiſſion of Dauphiné had convoked the States of that Province. The Nobility of Britany had aſſembled at St. Malo: thoſe of Languedoc at Toulouſe. In this laſt town ninety Gentlemen and eighty Members of the Parliament aſſembled, and entered into a Reſolution, of which the following is the ſubſtance:

"The Nobility of Languedoc, deeply "afflicted at the misfortunes of the State, "and at the outrage committed againſt the "ſacred perſon of the King, are bound to "take a firm and prudent part to re-eſta-"bliſh peace, and reſtore tranquillity to "the moſt virtuous and moſt unfortunate "of Kings. The Nobility publicly diſ-"avow the tranſactions entered into by "their Repreſentatives. They conſider it "as a moſt urgent duty to engage the other "Orders to aſſemble, in order to reſtore to "Religion its influence, to the Laws their "force and energy, to the Monarch his law-"ful authority, and, for they dare to ſay "it, his liberty! The Aſſembly have in "conſequence charged four Commiſſioners "to communicate the preſent Reſolution to

"the

" the Clergy and Municipal Officers, and " to invite them to convoke the Aſſemblies " of their reſpective Orders."

Theſe Aſſemblies were certainly contrary to the ordinances of the Kingdom, and to the Decrees of the National Aſſembly; but they were ſo evidently authoriſed, and even commanded, by the ſupreme law of the ſafety of the State, that there remained at that period no other means of ſaving the Monarchy and the King. In fact, there is no doubt; if the Bailiwick Aſſemblies of the three Orders had been able to aſſemble at the ſame time throughout the Kingdom, that they would have voted, either unanimouſly or by an immenſe majority, for the revocation of thoſe faithleſs Deputies, who had ſo raſhly violated their inſtructions only to overthrow or uſurp every thing. But unfortunately this ſimultaneous aſſembling could not be effected without the King's interference; and his Majeſty had no Miniſter about him faithful enough, or who poſſeſſed ſufficient energy to think of or attempt executing ſuch a meaſure. It was more particularly Mr. *Necker's* duty: it was what he ought to have propoſed on the horrid morning of the 6th of

of October, when he was only remarked in the Council Chamber by his deep ſighs, and his profound and ſterile reverie. What conſolation, what confidence, what hope would it not have given to the Royal Family, if, at the moment of the reconciliation of the *Gardes-du-Corps* with the People, he had ſaid to the King: "Sire, all is ſafe. 'Let us bleſs Providence, who ſeems to 'have permitted ſo many crimes, in order 'to point out and render lawful and infal-'lible the only meaſure which can prevent 'new dangers from attending the State and 'yourſelf. The clamours which call you 'to Paris do not expreſs the wiſhes of the 'People, but of the Factious; be careful 'not to yield to them. I will immediately 'go myſelf and declare to the People, who 'are miſled, but who love you and have 'confidence in me, that after a night of 'ſuch agitation your Majeſty has need of 'reſt. I will promiſe in your name, that 'you will honour the Capital with your 'preſence as ſoon as tranquillity is eſta-'bliſhed there, and I dare anſwer that this 'promiſe will ſuffice. It will not, how-'ever, prevent your Majeſty from ſetting

" out to-morrow for Compiegne, and re-
" moving the National Aſſembly to Soiſ-
" ſons. In the morning I will take your
" Majeſty's orders for a new convocation of
" the Aſſemblies of the Bailiwicks, who
" ought to be informed not only of the ex-
" ecrable outrages that have been juſt com-
" mitted, but of the imminent danger with
" which the whole State is threatened. The
" circulation of theſe orders, and the ap-
" pointment of the days on which thoſe
" Aſſemblies ſhall be held in the different
" Provinces, the Bailiwicks of Paris and
" Verſailles excepted, ſhall be ſo managed,
" that the news cannot be received in Paris
" till the reſolutions taken accompany it.—
" They will be unanimous, do not doubt it,
" Sire. The Nation, exaſperated, will not
" leave to the authors of ſo many diſaſters
" the power of prolonging them, and car-
" rying them to farther exceſſes, but will
" recall their treacherous Deputies, will pe-
" tition you to diſſolve ſo imprudent and ſo
" criminal an Aſſembly, and, relying with
" full confidence on your wiſdom, goodneſs
" and love, will deſire to owe their happi-
" neſs and liberty alone to you."

This is what Mr. *Necker* ought to have ſaid and done, if he had been, I will not ſay a great man, but a Miniſter worthy of any eſteem, and *all would have been ſaved.* But in this circumſtance, as in every other that required a little energy, he was the moſt vacant and inſignificant of men.

The King's reſidence at Paris rendered the meaſure I have been ſpeaking of infinitely leſs practicable. Nevertheleſs, the Aſſembly, who perceived all the danger of it, neglected nothing to prevent it;—conſequently, in the Decree which they paſſed on the 26th of October relative to the Aſſemblies of the Nobility of Britany and Languedoc, and the convocation of the States of Dauphiné, they declared, "That "no Convocation or Aſſembly by ORDER "ſhould take place in the Kingdom; that "the Aſſemblies of the Bailiwicks, and "thoſe within the juriſdictions of the Se-"neſchals ſhould in future be convened "ſingly, and without diſtinction of the ranks; "and that all convocations of Provinces "and States ſhould be poſtponed until the "Aſſembly ſhould have determined, with

" the King's aſſent, the mode of their " convocation." In order to ſecure the execution of this Decree, the Aſſembly laboured from that moment, with the greateſt activity, to put an end to the old diviſion of the Kingdom into Provinces, Juriſdictions, Bailiwicks, &c. under pretence of its being founded on the diſtinctions of the Orders, and that it did not accord with the New Conſtitution. All France was divided into Departments, Diſtricts, Municipalities, &c. and in the ſettling of their reſpective bounds, the Aſſembly avoided with a puerile affectation, all reſpect to the limits of the ancient diviſions wherever they were not forced to it by the chains of mountains, or courſes of rivers *.

As the immediate conſequence of this new diviſion was to be the organization of Aſſemblies for Departments, Municipalities, &c. it appeared important to obviate the chief obſtacles that might obſtruct their eſtabliſhment, and eſpecially to prevent the

* The number of the Departments was not finally ſettled till the 26th of February 1790, when it was fixed at eighty-three.

reſiſtance

reſiſtance of the Parliaments. The ſuppreſſion of thoſe bodies of the Magiſtracy, which had been long announced, only depended for its completion on a final Decree relative to the new judicial arrangement; but as a lingering death might be attended with troubleſome convulſions, * *Alexander de Lameth*, always fruitful in Revolutionary reſources, propoſed to *bury them all alive*, that is to ſay, to ſuſpend them till the new organization of the judicial authority. This idea was not abſolutely unprecedented; the Archbiſhop of *Sens* had alſo ſuſpended the Parliaments, to prevent their injuring the organization of his great Bailiwicks; but the Aſſembly had no occaſion to ſuſpend them, becauſe they were ſuſpended already; all that could be done was to keep them in that ſituation till their total *extinction*, and this they did after a ſhort hour's debate. They ordained by the ſame Decree, "That the Courts of "Vacations ſhould continue their functions, "and take cognizance of all cauſes, ſuits, "and proceedings, notwithſtanding any "law or regulation to the contrary, until it "ſhould be otherwiſe enacted in this re- "ſpect; and that all the other Courts ſhould

" continue to adminiſter juſtice in the uſual " manner."

It appear by the date of this Decree (the 3d of November) that in the ſpace of two days the ancient power of the Parliaments, and the much more ancient property of the Clergy of France fell beneath the ſweeping ſcythe of the National Aſſembly. The haſte of the Keeper of the Seals to ſanction theſe two Decrees, and to ſend the latter by extraordinary meſſengers to all the Parliaments of the Kingdom, excited general aſtoniſhment; and in fact it muſt be allowed, that the reſignation with which the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, at the head of the Magiſtracy, ſubmitted to the degradation of his Department, and to the annihilation of all eccleſiaſtical property, was more prompt than was naturally to be expected.— The Courts of the Vacations did not carry their patriotiſm quite ſo far. That of Paris, governed at hand by circumſtances, and ſituated amidſt the brigands, and the lanterns which were *organized for civic vengeance*, could not but regiſter the Decree in ſilence: but that of Rouen, and almoſt all the others of the Kingdom, accompanied the enrolment with proteſts

teſts more or leſs energetic, and all replete with teſtimonies of their loyalty to the King. That of Rouen, in their reſolution of proviſional enrolment, expreſſed themſelves in this manner: "Surely it is not at a mo-"ment when moſt of the citizens ſeem vo-"luntarily reſigned to abſolute blindneſs "that it can be ſeaſonable to produce the "light. When the laws are every where at-"tacked, reviled, and diſgraced, to attempt to "enforce their power would be evidently to "lay them open to new outrages. When the "firſt Monarch of the world, oppreſſed with "griefs as piercing as unmerited, deigns "to ſilence in his own boſom every other "ſentiment but that of his inexhauſtible "tenderneſs for his people; in ſhort, when "we have ſeen this Monarch, worthy for "ever of the reſpect of all Nations, brav-"ing every danger, go to his Capital "to endeavour ſtill by the example of "his virtues, and the affecting proofs of "his popularity, to reclaim his miſled "ſubjects; true and loyal Magiſtrates can-"not but bleſs ſuch goodneſs, and groan "in ſilence at the error of their fellow-"ſubjects.

" On theſe conſiderations the Court of " the Vacations have reſolved to enrol pro- " viſionally the King's Declaration of " the 3d of this month. They neverthe- " leſs declare, that in reſolving upon this " enrolment, they have done ſo only to " give their Sovereign freſh proofs of their " inviolable love, profound reſpect, and " boundleſs ſubmiſſion; and alſo, through " the apprehenſion of obſtructing his Ma- " jeſty's views, and of increaſing, by a juſt " oppoſition, the dreadful troubles that " rend the State; but that in no caſe ſhall " there be any precedent drawn from the " ſaid enrolment, in as much as the ſaid " Court have proceeded without liberty or " ſufficient title, and only compelled by the " force of circumſtances.

" They reſolve, moreover, that copies in " form of the preſent Reſolution ſhall be " diſpatched to the Keeper of the Seals, and " to the Count *de St. Prieſt*, with a requeſt " that they would lay it before the King, " and aſſure him that his Majeſty cannot " have more loyal ſubjects than the Ma- " giſtrates who compoſe the Court of the " Vacations of his Parliament of Rouen;

" that

" that they only wiſh to live to reſpect " and to obey his lawful authority, as well " as the laws, the adminiſtration of which " he has confided to them; and that they " would rather periſh than authoriſe the " attempts that may be made againſt " them."

The King was greatly affected by the ſentiments expreſſed in this Reſolution, and muſt have been ſtill more ſo at finding himſelf reduced by his ſituation to the cruel neceſſity of annulling it, which indeed he could not diſpenſe with; but I moſt firmly believe, that the empire of this barbarous neceſſity was bounded there, and that not only the King's intereſt, but his dignity and his virtue, oppoſed his Miniſters undertaking to be the denouncers of his loyal ſubjects to the National Aſſembly. Such, however, was the painful part taken by the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* relative to the Magiſtrates of Normandy. He wrote on the 9th of November to the Preſident of the Aſſembly, that the King, having been informed the day before of the Reſolution of the Court of the Vacations of the Parliament of Rouen, thought he ſhould not delay an inſtant in teſ-

teſtifying his diſapprobation of that Reſolution, and in giving proofs to the Nation of his Majeſty's entire harmony with the National Aſſembly. To this letter was annexed a copy of the Decree of the Council, in which we read with grief, and ſcarcely believing our eyes—" that the King had " ſeen with as much ſurpriſe as diſpleaſure, " a Decree which could only excite fermen- " tation, miſlead the minds of his loyal " ſubjects, and raiſe doubts of a harmony " on which the common happineſs de- " pended; and that his Majeſty, judging it " neceſſary to diſſipate the alarms which " might be the conſequence of ſuch an act, " had annulled it, &c."

The Reſolution of the Court of the Vacations was not annexed to the Decree of the Council, but the Keeper of the Seals gave it to an Uſher whom the Preſident ſent to him for it. The Aſſembly judged that this official communication was ſufficient to *ſubſtantiate the crime*, which they conſidered as an outrageous attack upon the ſovereign power of the Nation. They decreed in conſequence—" That this paper ſhould " be ſent to the Court proviſionally em-

" powered

" powered to take cognizance of treaſon " againſt the Nation, in order that the " authors of the Reſolution, whoever they " were, might be arraigned; and that " the King ſhould be entreated to appoint " another Court of Vacations from among " the other members of the Parliament of " Rouen, for the purpoſe of enrolling the " Decree of the 3d of November purely " and ſimply."

This Decree was paſſed, notwithſtanding the lively impreſſion and general emotion produced throughout the Aſſembly, by a ſpeech replete with dignity and ſenſibility, made without preparation, by the Preſident *de Frondeville* in behalf of his colleagues. The following paſſage of it was interrupted by his own emotions, and the reiterated plaudits of the Aſſembly:

" Caſt your looks on thoſe ancient bodies: " they ſaw a torrent of public ſpirit break- " ing over the bounds which your wiſdom " would preſcribe to it. It is in the midſt " of thoſe diſorders, amidſt the general " thoughtleſſneſs, if I dare ſo to expreſs " myſelf, that they have cauſed their com-

" plaints

" plaints to be heard. Is it not a cruelty to
" prevent him who ſuffers pain, from com-
" plaining? Muſt not the Magiſtrates
" whom you would proſecute be oppreſſed
" with ſorrow, when they loſe their dignity
" and their exiſtence? It is their opinion,
" and not their diſobedience, that you are
" going to puniſh; for they have obeyed
" your Decree, they have regiſtered it. Ma-
" giſtrates given up to the fury of the peo-
" ple, fugitives, expatriated, ſeparated from
" their diſconſolate families!—Alas! I may
" be pardoned for defending my brethren,
" with whom I have lived, and whoſe miſ-
" fortunes I muſt ſhare!"

On receiving the Decree of the Council, the Court of the Vacations reſolved, that their Senior ſhould write to the Keeper of the Seals, and beg him to aſſure the King, " that
" in entering into a Reſolution, in which they
" expreſſed their deep affliction for the miſ-
" fortunes of the State, as well as their in-
" violable love for his Majeſty's perſon—
" a Reſolution intended to be ſeen only by
" himſelf, and not to be made public—
" they neither could nor ought to be ſuſ-

" pected

" pected of having ſought to excite any " fermentation, or of miſleading the minds " of his loyal ſubjects, and ſtill leſs to " raiſe doubts of the principles of the " King, or of his harmony with the Aſ- " ſembly."

This explanation, which ought to have ſatisfied the Aſſembly, did not ſeem to make any impreſſion upon them: they coldly ſent the ſecond Reſolution of the Magiſtrates of Rouen to the Committee of Reports, and it was not till next day that they conſented, at the King's earneſt ſolicitation, to purſue this affair no farther.

The Courts of Vacations which followed the example of that of Rouen were aboliſhed, cited, and warned, with a diſguſting arrogance. The Mandates of the Biſhops were not treated with more indulgence than the Reſolutions of the Courts of the Magiſtracy: that of the virtuous Biſhop of *Treguier* (*le Mintier*) was ſent to the Tribunal charged with the proſecution of treaſon againſt the Nation. That good Prelate, ſharing the horror of all France on the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October, had indeed gone ſo far as to ſay in his Mandate,

" It is true, therefore, that the diadem is ſet " with cruel points, which overflow the " Throne of Kings with blood; and that " that Throne is ſhaken in the criſis " brought on by furious libellers. Religion " is annihilated, its Miniſters are reduced " to the ſad condition of clerks appointed " by brigands—the morals of the day con- " ſiſt in ſcepticiſm and ſelfiſh principles. " It is wiſhed that the obſtinate diſciple of " *Moſes*, the follower of Mahomet, and " the licentious Atheiſt, ſhould live upon a " par with the Chriſtian! — There are " abuſes, but to reform them is it neceſſary " to ſpill blood? Thoſe ſyſtems of equality " in rank and fortune are only chimeras. " You, who ſhare our duties, Miniſter of " God, go into your pulpits, proclaim theſe " truths, tell the people they are de- " ceived, &c."

This Mandate produced in the Dioceſe of Treguier an effect very alarming to the factious. A conſiderable number of young people had quitted the National Guard, and publiſhed a Declaration, by which they proteſted, that their intereſts were inſeparable from that of the Nobility and Clergy; that they

they had ever had reaſon to be proud of the Gentry of their Province; and they appointed the Chevalier *de Keralio* their Commander.

If the Biſhop of *Treguier's* Mandate had been concerted with all his colleagues, and publiſhed at the ſame time in all the Dioceſes of the Kingdom; or rather, if immediately after the horrid days of the 5th and 6th of October, all the Biſhops of France had ordered general prayers of forty hours for the preſervation of the lives of the King and Royal Family; if each of them had publiſhed on that occaſion one affecting and energetic Mandate, in which, after explaining with proper precaution the proceedings of the Aſſembly and the danger of the new ſyſtems, they had ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to recall all the ſentiments of loyalty and love of the King, it is poſſible that, without expoſing themſelves in any manner, they might have checked the Revolution.

The States of Cambreſis, or rather their intermediate Commiſſion, augmented and compoſed of members of the three Orders, took a part at this period truly energetic, and of which the diſſolution of the Aſſembly

bly would have been the certain and immediate conſequence, if the example of that ſmall Province had been followed by all the others. The intermediate Commiſſion on the 9th of November entered into a Reſolution, in which conſidering—" that certain " Decrees of the National Aſſembly are pav- " ing the way for the ruin of the King- " dom, and the annihilation of Religion; " that, if they have been able to place one " ſpecies of property at the diſpoſal of the " Nation, men of all kinds of property may " expect the ſame fate; they declare, from " this moment, the powers of the Deputies " of Cambreſis to the National Aſſembly " to be null and revoked." It is true that the Provinces which had neither States nor intermediate Commiſſion could not do the ſame thing; but all might have done much better. Were they not all divided into Bailiwicks? Had not thoſe Bailiwicks appointed Electors? Could not thoſe Electors have aſſembled, deliberated, and entered into reſolutions, as the Electors of Paris had done without the leaſt obſtacle before the eyes of the King and the Aſſembly? Could not the Electors of the Provinces have made uſe of the

the ſame power to ſave the State, as thoſe of the Capital had employed to overturn every thing? Could a ſingle law have been oppoſed to the former, againſt which they might not have pleaded the authority of the latter? Certainly not: they might, therefore, even more lawfully than the intermediate Commiſſion of Cambreſis have declared the powers of their Deputies null and revoked, as in fact it was from themſelves that thoſe powers were derived. We may judge of the effect that this procedure would have produced, by the timid moderation with which the National Aſſembly treated the intermediate Commiſſion of Cambreſis: they did not quaſh them, cite them to their bar, or ſend their Reſolution to the Châtelet: but after diſcuſſing the buſineſs in three different Sittings*, they contented themſelves with declaring that the intermediate Commiſſion, or the Board (*Bureau renforcé*) of the States of Cambreſis, not having power to repreſent the States of Cambray and of Cambreſis, and to expreſs the will of that Province, the Reſolution of the ſaid Commiſſion was void, and dero-

* The 17th, 19th, and 24th of November.

gatory to the National Sovereignty and to the Rights of the Citizens. They reſolved, at the ſame time, that the King ſhould be prayed to give the neceſſary orders for bringing back the members of the ſaid Commiſſion to their duty, and for cauſing the Decrees of the Aſſembly to be executed by the people of Cambreſis. They concluded the Decree with a recommendation to the inhabitants of that Province, to perſiſt in the maintenance of order and peace, and in the confidence due to the Decrees of the National Aſſembly.

It is evident that, if inſtead of having to repulſe the ſingle attack of the intermediate Commiſſion of one of the ſmalleſt Provinces of France, the Aſſembly had had to determine upon their own diſſolution reſulting from the revocation of the powers of all their members, pronounced at the ſame time by the ſame Aſſemblies, who had inveſted them with thoſe powers, they would have been forced to ſubmit. Theſe ſimultaneous meetings of all the Electoral Aſſemblies of the Kingdom would have been very eaſily effected, if they had been urged by intelligent and faithful Agents, ſuch as the Miniſtry ſhould have had in all the Provinces.

But

But the moſt neceſſary precautions in ſo critical a moment had been neglected, and the King's principal Miniſters were themſelves no more than the humble and docile Agents of the National Aſſembly.

CHAPTER XX.

Scarcity of Money—Mr. Necker reads a long Memorial to the Aſſembly—Report of the Committee of Finances—Debate upon the Plan propoſed by Mr. Necker—The Aſſembly make a Gift to the Country of all the Deputies' Silver Buckles—Debate upon the Organization of the Municipalities—Impeachment at the Chair by the Committee of Inquiry againſt the late Miniſters, Marſhal Broglio, and the Baron de Buzenval—Trial of the latter—The ſame Committee lodge Informations reſpecting the Outrages committed on the 6th of October—Inſurrection at Toulon—Conduct of the Aſſembly on that Occaſion—Various Plans of Finance—

Aſſignats

Aſſignats—Arreſt and Trial of the Marquis de Favras, accuſed of a Conſpiracy—Suſpicions ſpread abroad on that Occaſion againſt Monſieur, the King's Brother—He goes to the Hotel-de-Ville and diſſipates them—Suppoſed Murder.

TIME is the deſtroyer of all things, and a ſcythe is his emblem: but he is alſo repreſented holding an hour-glaſs, the repeated revolutions of which aſſign to every thing its end. They fix the degree of maturity which all human inſtitutions require to produce their intended effect: and thus it is with great reaſon ſaid, that a good Conſtitution can only be the work of time.

The Aſſembly, deaf to theſe truths, which men of ſenſe were continually repeating to them, borrowed only the ſcythe of Time, and thought without his aid to give France immediately the moſt perfect Conſtitution. In the midſt of ruins, diviſions, and crimes, they laid the foundation of their edifice, or rather of a ſecond Tower of Babel; and not leſs diſcord prevailed among the labourers who worked at the one, than among thoſe who attempted to raiſe the other. This enterpriſe, as fatal as it was fooliſh, and

the deſtructions and uſurpations with which it was accompanied, equally alarmed the landed and moneyed intereſt. Terror obſtructed the circulation of ſpecie no leſs than that of proviſions. It became ſcarcer every day at Paris, and the poverty of the Royal treaſury was extreme.

Mr. *Necker* drew a picture of this diſaſtrous ſituation in a Memorial, which he preſented to the Aſſembly on the 14th of November, and the reading of which laſted nearly two hours. The reſult of it was, that a ſupply of 170 millions was neceſſary for the Royal treaſury, to anſwer only the extraordinary expences of the concluding year, and that which was commencing, without reckoning the deficiency that might be cauſed by the poſſible and too probable delay in the payment of the taxes. After having diſcuſſed the different methods of procuring an extraordinary ſupply, ſo conſiderable at a time when credit was ſo very low, he pitched upon that of converting the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte* into a National Bank, and ſtated it as preferable to all the others. He propoſed fixing at 240 millions the ſum total of the bills of that Bank, which ſhould be ſecured by the Nation, ſtamped with

the arms of France, and that the legend ſhould be the words *National Security*. The ſecurities that ſhould be delivered to the National Bank for the recovery of its advance, might be ſettled on the funds to be raiſed from the patriotic contributions, from the ſale of the eſtates of the Clergy, and from the demeſne lands; and might be payable by monthly inſtalments of ten millions each: ſo that in 1791 the reimburſement of the 170 millions, for which the King ſhould only pay an intereſt of four per cent. would be entirely compleſed. He inſiſted on this plan, as being the only one likely to re-eſtabliſh order; and yet he concluded his ſpeech by acknowledging, that, in *his own judgment, every part of it was ſtrongly tinctured with the vexatious nature of the preſent circumſtances.* "Standing "alone, I feel (added he) what it coſts me "to depart from the ordinary principles of "Adminiſtration, the ſtrict adherence to "which has alone hitherto reconciled me to "the management of public affairs. I re- "queſt that the reſult of it ſhould be con- "ſidered as a mere opinion: diſcuſs it, and "judge.—I ſhall not adopt it till you have "fully approved it. I did not decline de-

" ciding, while only a ſimple project of " contribution was in queſtion—but I ought " not to ſtand alone reſponſible for events. " It is ſufficient to exiſt in anxiety while " ſeeking to do good; it is ſufficient to ex- " ert one's thougths to leſſen the evils of " the State; it is ſufficient to go on ſinking " under the immenſe burden with which I " am continually loaded, without relaxation. " Allow me, though addreſſing you on " buſineſs, to offer you the tribute of my " ſentiments and thoughts. I ſhould con- " fine myſelf to ſpeak to you in the ſimple " language of reaſon, *but it is incomplete " without ſentiment; for ſentiment alone " can collect the ideas, which eſcape the " effects and the graſp of the under- " ſtanding**."

The Committee of Finances a few days after preſented the reſult of th ir labours. The Marquis *de Monteſquiou*, who was charged with this Report, ſtated in it with the greateſt detail, the whole of the Finances

* The extraordinary pathos of this laſt ſentiment is not within the reach of every body's underſtanding, and it is far above mine; but I could not have ſuppreſſed it without mutilating the peroration of Mr. *Necker*'s ſpeech.

of

of the Kingdom, the preſent ſtate of the Royal treaſury, its wants, reſources, and hopes, whether in adopting Mr. *Necker*'s plan, or in eſtabliſhing a National Bank independent of the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*. This, without directly attacking the Miniſter's plan, was pointing out that another might be adopted.

In the Sitting of the 19th of November, at the moment that the diſcuſſion upon Mr. *Necker's Memorial* was opening, a Deputation from the little town of Iſſoudun entered, and preſented to the Aſſembly 115 marks of ſilver, ariſing from the buckles and jewels which the inhabitants of that Commune offered to the Country. Theſe offerings were received with the greateſt applauſe, which increaſed when one of the Deputies, taking off his ſhoes, gravely laid his buckles upon the table, and propoſed to the Aſſembly to decree, that all the Members *ſhould do the ſame.* This motion was no ſooner articulated, than the Aſſembly unanimouſly decreed, that all the Members ſhould make a gift of their buckles to the Country. This puerile ſupply had, unqueſtionably, the quality of that which Mr. *Necker* demanded—it was *very extraordinary;* but, unfortunately,

nately, it only amounted to about 170 louis-d'ors out of the 170 million livres that were to be raiſed. Indeed, the Aſſembly flattered themſelves that all France would follow their example—but more braſs buckles were ſold in conſequence, than ſilver ones given.

Mirabeau, who in all the diſcuſſions relative to the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte* had ſhown himſelf the declared enemy of that eſtabliſhment, oppoſed with all the powers of eloquence, reaſon, and ridicule, the plan propoſed by Mr. *Necker*. "We muſt examine "(ſaid he) if the demand made for the "national cloak to cover the nakedneſs of "the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte* be not an advan-"tage taken of the good faith of the Mi-"niſter, an impolitic as well as immoral "calculation; a terrible aggravation of the "general decline to private intereſt, hitherto "falſely repreſented as the impulſe of pa-"triotiſm.

"What indeed would be the paſſport for "the circulation of thoſe bank bills? What "inducement for the Capital and Provinces "to place confidence in the uſe of that "paper?—The national credit! the national "ſecurity!—Let us breathe, Gentlemen—

"all

" all is not loſt—Mr. *Necker* does not de-
" ſpair of the credit of France!

" Entirely founded on our credit, this
" Bank then would deign to render us the
" *eſſential ſervice* of lending us, upon the
" ſecurity of our ſubſcriptions, the ſame
" notes to which our ſtamp alone ſhould
" have given life and motion; and in re-
" turn for this ſervice, they demand of us
" an intereſt of four per cent. in favour of
" the ſtock-holders!—Four per cent.!—
" That is but little for the ſtock-jobbers,
" but a great deal for the Nation. If a
" Prince at war ſhould dictate ſuch terms to
" us, with what a diſdainful ſmile ſhould
" we oppoſe ſo baſe a treaty! Let us, at
" length, dare to be ſenſible that our coun-
" try, in the uſe of its credit, can diſpenſe
" with unneceſſary mediums. Let us dare
" to believe, that every ſaving which pro-
" ceeds from the returns of what we give,
" is but the ſecret of an empiric. Such
" a national fund or bank as has been
" propoſed by the Committee of Finances
" would unite all intereſts, were it once
" decreed; and four-and-twenty hours
" would not elapſe before we ſhould find a
" wiſe plan adapted to the nature of things,

" exempt

" exempt from diſagreeable conſequences, " and at leaſt proper to reſtore credit " promptly." He concluded with moving that Mr. *Necker* ſhould be informed, that the National Aſſembly would wait for the general plan he had mentioned to them before they came to a reſolution.

One of the ſpeakers who followed *Mirabeau* againſt Mr. *Necker*'s plan was of opinion, that it was intended to cover the abuſes of the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte;* that it expoſed that Bank to a third failure, and the Nation to a participation in the diſhonour of a bankruptcy; and that it allowed uſurious intereſt to name-lenders, and not to real lenders. " Mr. *Necker* (cried he) would efface with " his tears what he has written with his " hand, could he foreſee the conſequences " of it." He concluded by mentioning a plan for creating a National Paper, under the inſpection and direction of Commiſſioners to be appointed by the Aſſembly.

Du Pont de Nemours replied, and boldly defended the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*, and the Miniſters' plan. After he had ſpoken, the debate was adjourned till next day, when the following decree was paſſed: " That " there

"there be laid before the Aſſembly authen-
"tic information of the engagements en-
"tered into by the Government with the
"*Caiſſe d'Eſcompte* up to the 31ſt of De-
"cember following; an account of what
"appears from the vouchers of the extra-
"ordinary expences eſtimated at 170 mil-
"lions; of all that has been taken up be-
"forehand; of the intereſt, annuities, and
"penſions in arrear; of the remainders due
"by the Departments, and of the bills of
"which payment was ſuſpended." In the mean time, till theſe papers were laid before them, the Aſſembly turned their attention to the organization of the Municipalities; and the debates on that ſubject nearly occupied them for a month.

In that interval, the attention and curioſity of the Public, ever eager for new ſcenes, were ſtrongly excited by the proceedings of the Committee of Inquiry of the Municipality of Paris. That Committee, commiſſioned to collect all the proofs and documents neceſſary to ground the denunciation which the Solicitor of the Commune was to make at the Chatelet againſt the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October, did not confine their commiſſion to that object, but went to work

work ſo as not to endanger their popularity; and in conſequence their firſt reſolution, which was taken on the 18th of November, was: "That the Solicitor of the Commune "ſhould, in the firſt place, ſpecially de- "nounce the conſpiracy formed againſt the "National Aſſembly and the City of Paris, "between the month of May and the 15th "of July laſt; the aſſembling of troops "compoſed chiefly of foreigners, with a "conſiderable train of artillery, bombs, "mortars, and furnaces to heat balls; the "collecting all theſe implements of war be- "tween Paris and Verſailles; the National "Aſſembly driven from their Sittings, and "afterwards kept in confinement in the "ſame place, amidſt the troops by which "they were ſurrounded, their liberty vio- "lated, and the moſt ſacred laws of the "State trampled upon in the Sitting of the "23d of June; all the preparations made "at the Baſtille for deſtroying the Capital; "the orders given to cut down the unripe "corn to feed the horſes of the troops; the "proviſions deſigned for the Capital inter- "cepted, and given to the ſoldiers aſſembled "againſt its inhabitants; the order given to "the Prince *de Lambeſc* to enter the Thuil-

"leries

" leries at the head of his regiment, and
" chaſe the unarmed townſmen, &c. &c.:
" for which crimes, the Sieur *Barentin*,
" formerly Keeper of the Seals; the Count
" *de Puyſegur*, formerly Miniſter at War;
" Marſhal *Broglio*, the Baron *de Buzenval*,
" and Count *D'Autichamp*, ſhould be de-
" livered up, to be dealt with according
" to law for the ſaid crimes; together with
" their abettors, adherents, and accom-
" plices."

The very next day the Solicitor of the Commune denounced thoſe pretended crimes to the King's Solicitor of the Chatelet, who lodged informations againſt them the day following; on which day the Chatelet began the proſecution, in preſence of the public, againſt *M. de Buzenval*, who had been confined in priſon ſince the month of July. As it was the firſt criminal trial publicly conducted, the attraction, novelty, and curioſity to hear the evidence againſt *M. de Buzenval*, and his replies to ſuch ſerious articles of accuſation, drew an immenſe crowd to the Court at the Chatelet, where he appeared with that calm air and unalterable ſerenity which diſtinguiſh innocence. Alas! it could not be in the eyes of the rebellious

Pariſians

Pariſians that *M. de Buzenval* was culpable; on the contrary, they were obliged to him for making no uſe of the powers and means with which he was entruſted to repreſs their outrages: before a Court Martial, indeed, he would have found it difficult to have juſtified himſelf.

It was not till the 1ſt of December that the Solicitor of the Commune, authoriſed by a reſolution of the Committee of Inquiry of the 23d of November, denounced to the King's Solicitor at the Chatelet, *not the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October*, but only *the outrages of the 6th of October*. The Committee of Inquiry ſhamefully advanced in their reſolution, that the object for which the People and National Guard of Paris went to Verſailles, was *to repreſs diſorder, and ſecure peace to the King and National Aſſembly; and that on their arrival they accompliſhed that ſacred object which they had made their law.* The outrages of the next day were imputed to *brigands, who, induced by clandeſtine manœuvres, had mixed with the citizens.* In conſequence, the information of the King's Solicitor was laid only againſt *certain authors of the commotions of that day.*

In

In comparing theſe two denunciations, they preſent a very ſtriking contraſt of audacity and timidity, of calumny and reſerve. The one enters into the minuteſt details of imaginary crimes, names the pretended criminals, and calls down the vengeance of the laws upon them; while the other ſuppreſſes the chief circumſtances of real outrages, imputed to unknown brigands, to certain perſons! What a popularity was that of the Committee of Inquiry*!

The ſeditious commotions with which the whole Kingdom was agitated, and which every day produced new inſurrections, broke out at this period with the greateſt violence in the port of Toulon. *M. d'Albert de Rioms*, who commanded there, obſerving that ſome workmen of the port, who had entered into the National Guard, neglected their work on that pretence, though paid for it, or performed it in a ſlovenly manner, very wiſely judged that thoſe two duties were incompatible, and in conſequence declared, that ſuch workmen as preferred remaining in the ſer-

* It was at that time compoſed of the following perſons: *Agier*, *Perron*, *Oudart*, *Garran de Coulon*, and *Briſſot*.

vice of the National Guard ſhould not be employed in the dock-yard. On that occaſion, he diſmiſſed in the evening of the 30th of November two Maſter-attendants (*Maitres d'Equipages*) of whom he had long had reaſon to complain. The next morning, at nine o'clock, he was informed that a Deputation of the Permanent Council was at the door of the arſenal; to whom he ſent an invitation to come in, which was oppoſed by the people. *M. d'Albert* then ſent word to the Gentlemen, that he would go home to receive the Deputation. All the officers who were in the arſenal aſſembled to accompany their General, and at the door they found the Deputies ſurrounded by an immenſe crowd of people, who followed them to the Commander's houſe, inceſſantly hooting and threatening them.

At *M. d'Albert*'s houſe the Deputation begged a pardon for the two Maſters, promiſing on that condition that things ſhould return to their uſual order. *M. d'Albert* heſitated at firſt to grant the pardon, and ſhowed the danger that would attend it; on which, one of the Members of the Deputation taking the Municipal Officer by the arm ſaid: "Come, Sir, let us retire; let us

" go and ſave the town, which is in dan-
" ger; I now change my mind." But the Municipal Officer who was at the head of the Deputation continued to preſs *M. d'Albert*, obtained a pardon for the two Maſters, and cauſed it to be immediately publiſhed through the town: at the ſame time *M. d'Albert* gave orders to aſſemble fifty ſoldiers of the Marine under arms on the *Champ de Bataille**.

M. de Broves, a Major of the Marine, who commanded this detachment, was inſulted, and an attempt was even made to force his ſword from him, but in vain; and he then gave his men the word of command to preſent arms, but was obeyed only by the firſt rank. The populace, thinking he had given the word to fire, became doubly furious. It was with much difficulty that *M. de Broves* made his way into the General's houſe, who immediately diſpatched an officer to the *Hotel-de-Ville* to require the proclamation of Martial Law. The Council replied that they could not

* The *Champ de Bataille* is a ſquare ſo called at Toulon, as in ſome other towns of France. In thoſe ſquares troops draw up to do duty and mount guard.

order it, and contented themſelves with ſending company after company of the National Guards, who ſurrounded the General's houſe; but who defended it ſo ill, that ſeveral of the officers were wounded with ſtones, and *M. de Bonneval* on the head and on the hand by a ſword.

M. d'Albert de Rioms having been unable to obtain the proclamation of martial law, ordered a picket-guard of fifty men of the regiment of *Barrois* to protect his houſe. As ſoon as it arrived, the Major of the National Guard repreſented that it was uſeleſs and even dangerous; that the ſight of theſe ſoldiers would only increaſe the fury of the people, and that he would anſwer for all: on which aſſurance *M. d'Albert* conſented to diſmiſs the picket-guard; but they were ſcarcely gone, when *M. de St. Julien*, a Major of the Marine, carrying an order from the General, was attacked, and had his ſword broken in the ſcabbard. He returned for another; but attempting to go into the General's houſe he was again attacked, and had only time to join the ſoldiers of the Marine aſſembled for the ſecurity of the port. "I hope (ſaid he to them) "that you will not allow an officer to be "mur-

"murdered at your head." They anſwered him, that he had nothing to fear. He was nevertheleſs aſſailed at the ſame moment by the populace, the ſoldiers ſtanding by without making the ſlighteſt attempt to aſſiſt him; and he would have been maſſacred, if two Officers of the National Guard had not forced him from the hands of the murderers. They carried him to the Commander's houſe in a deplorable ſtate. He was accuſed by the people of having wounded a National Guard on the hand with his ſword; but this Guard was not named, and *M. de St. Julien* gave his word of honour that he had made no uſe of his ſword. *M. d'Albert de Rioms* had gone out to his aſſiſtance with about thirty Officers, and returned home after *M. de St. Julien* had been brought in.

From that time till two o'clock in the afternoon tranquillity appearing to be reſtored, ſeveral Officers went out for a ſhort time, but on their return the National Guard refuſed to let the greater part of them paſs in at the door. At three o'clock the tumult, motions, and cries of the populace became as violent as ever. The Major of the National Guard then went to demand *M. de*

Broves, in order to carry him to the *Palais*, promiſing that he ſhould receive no harm. That brave officer, fearing that a refuſal would involve his companions, did not heſitate to give himſelf up to the National Guard, who ſucceeded in conducting him ſafely to the *Palais*, amidſt the moſt ſanguinary threats and vociferations. Soon after this a Deputation from the Permanent Council, accompanied by the Commander of the Garriſon, (*M. de Carpillet*) went and informed *M. d'Albert* that the people were ſatisfied, and that the National troops were going to be withdrawn, except a guard of fifty men; which the General accepted, but deſired that to theſe might be added a detachment, equal in number, of the ſecond battalion of the regiment of *Barrois*. The Deputation anſwered, that they were not authoriſed to do this, but that they flattered themſelves they ſhould obtain authority from the Permanent Council, to whom they would immediately apply. The National Guard having oppoſed this, the Major ſent round to every company, to engage the troops to take the General's houſe and the Officers in it under their ſafeguard; but the only anſwer

ſwer he received was violent murmurs, and at the ſame inſtant the men forced the doors of the houſe, ruſhed in in a crowd, and ſeizing *M. d'Albert de Rioms*, *M. de Caſtellet*, *M. de Bonneval*, and *M. de Villages*, dragged them to the *Palais*, through the inſults and outrages of the populace. *M. d'Albert* received two wounds on the way. Theſe Officers were thrown into ſeparate dungeons; but the Municipal Officer, as ſoon as he heard of it, cauſed them to be removed, and placed together in one of the rooms of the priſon.

The people, whoſe rage was not yet ſatisfied, ſearched a long time for *M. Gautier*, the Maſter-builder, in order to treat him in the ſame manner; but he had the good fortune to eſcape, after running the greateſt danger.

Eight days afterwards, *M. de Caſtellet*, who had been wounded on the 1ſt of December, and *M. d'Albert de Rioms*, who had had ſeveral attacks of a fever, were removed to the hoſpital. They were ſcarcely in their beds, when they were forced by a mob to riſe and croſs the town in their night-gowns, ſupported by volunteers, and were confined more ſtrictly in their priſon.

The National Aſſembly were informed in the Sitting of the 1ſt of December, by a letter from the Keeper of the Seals, of the commotions at Toulon, and of the orders which the King had given for informations upon the facts relative to that inſurrection, and for the liberation of the Officers confined. *M. Malouet* ſpoke forcibly on the neceſſity of order being reſtored in that important town; inſiſted that a ſtriking reparation ſhould be made to *M. d'Albert de Rioms;* and moved a plan for a decree on thoſe two points. The Abbé *de Bonneval*, brother to one of the Officers who had been wounded and impriſoned, endeavoured to excite the feelings of the Aſſembly: but they contented themſelves with directing their Preſident to beſeech the King to give orders for reſtoring the Officers to liberty; which was aſking him to do what was already done. The Aſſembly, ever indulgent to popular exceſſes, were very careful not to inſert in their decree a word that could indicate a diſapprobation of the inſurrection of the Touloneſe.

On the 12th of December the Repreſentatives of that Commune received a letter from

from *M. de St. Prieſt*, containing the King's order to ſet the Officers of the Marine who were in priſon at liberty. Inſtead of obeying this order, they had the inſolence to adopt a reſolution in ſubſtance as follows: "That as it did not legally appear by *M. de* "*St. Prieſt*'s letter what the will of the King "really was; as the Sieur *d'Albert* and others "had been arreſted by public out-cry; and "as there had been no change of circum-"ſtances, the Repreſentatives of the Com-"mune would wait the determination of "the National Aſſembly, and perſiſted in "their former reſolution."

This Reſolution, being ſent to the National Aſſembly with ſome other papers, was read in the Sitting of the 17th of December. The conſideration of this buſineſs was adjourned till the next day; but it was not reſumed till the Aſſembly had received farther news from Toulon, which did not arrive till the 21ſt, and it conſiſted of a Minute of the General Council of the Commune, ſtating: "That the Decree of the Aſſembly "having been received at Toulon on the "14th, in the evening, the National Guard "had aſſembled the next morning at ſeven "o'clock; that the Council-General, pre-

"ceded

" ceded by trumpets, had publiſhed the de-
" cree of the National Aſſembly and the
" King's orders, with an injunction to the
" Citizens to do nothing to prevent their
" being executed; that the people and the
" ſoldiers having ſworn reſpect and ſubmiſ-
" ſion by acclamation, the Council had pro-
" ceeded to the *Palais*, ſet the Officers of
" the Marine at liberty, and had conducted
" them back to the General's houſe, with-
" out any commotion on the part of the
" people; that returning to the *Hotel-de-*
" *Ville*, the Council had found a great aſ-
" ſemblage of perſons; that they had en-
" joined them to go home, on which they
" had diſperſed; that on the ſame day the
" Officers had applied for a paſſport to go
" to Marſeilles, and that the Council had
" granted it to them."

The Aſſembly having heard this Minute read, decreed, that the Preſident ſhould write to the Council-General of Toulon, and inform them that the Aſſembly were ſatisfied with the manner in which the Municipal Officers had conducted themſelves with reſpect to the decree ſanctioned by the King. They either would not, or dared not, add a ſentence of diſapprobation or of regret at the outrages

outrages that had been committed againſt the principal Officers of the Marine at Toulon, and which had reduced them to the neceſſity of quitting their ſervice. They did not even blame the formal and avowed diſobedience of the Council-General to the King's orders, which enjoined them to ſet the Officers at liberty. Did not this ſilence very clearly ſhow, that the Supreme Executive Power, placed by the new Conſtitution in the hands of the King, were words void of meaning? a power that muſt be reckoned as nothing; not poſſeſſing the means of enforcing obedience? Nobody indeed was deceived by it; and one of the things that ſurpriſed me moſt on my entering into adminiſtration, was the ſtyle of loftineſs and impertinence, not only of the letters received by the Miniſters, but of thoſe which Clerks, Municipal Officers, and even private perſons, took the liberty of ſending to the King.

The impoſitions and contradictions contained in the public papers of that time, relative to this inſurrection at Toulon, determined me to inſert here the extract which I made myſelf from the official papers reſpecting

ing the buſineſs, depoſited in the Navy-Office. I have reported enough to ſhow that the Officers of the Marine conducted themſelves on that occaſion with as much wiſdom as courage and loyalty.

The diſcuſſion of the different plans of finance was reſumed in the Sitting of the 17th of December. Mr. *Necker*'s obſervations upon that which the Aſſembly had ſubmitted to his examination, and which had been drawn up by *M. de Laborde*, was read. After pointing out the defects of this plan, the Miniſter abandoned that which he had propoſed himſelf, and preſented a new one which he had concerted with the Members of the Committee of Finances, and with the Directors of the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*. The debate on this important ſubject produced on the 19th two decrees, the heads of which are as follow:

The firſt enacted, "That the notes of the "*Caiſſe d'Eſcompte* ſhould continue to be "received in payment at all public and "private banks until the 1ſt of July 1790, "at which time it ſhould be held to make "its payments generally; that in the inter-"val it ſhould furniſh eighty millions for

"the

" the public treaſury; that the ſeventy mil-
" lions advanced to the Royal treaſury in
" 1787 ſhould be reimburſed by annuities
" bearing five per cent. intereſt, and three
" per cent. for the reimburſement of the
" capital in twenty years; that for its ad-
" vances of the preceding years, and of the
" firſt ſix months of the year 1790, it ſhould
" receive one hundred and ſeventy millions
" in *Aſſignats*, from the fund for the ex-
" traordinary expenſes, or ſhares (*billets*
" *d'achats, purchaſe notes*) in the funded
" property; which ſhould be opened to
" ſale, bearing an intereſt of five per cent.
" and payable at the rate of ten millions per
" month, from the 1ſt of January 1791."
The four laſt articles of this complicated decree, amended on Mr. *Necker*'s repreſentations, " empowered the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte* to
" create twenty-five millions of new funds,
" ſettled the dividend, the part of the profits
" to remain in the treaſury to form a com-
" mutation fund, and they fixed likewiſe the
" period and portions for redeeming the
" funds, &c. &c."

By the ſecond decree the Aſſembly enacted, " That there ſhould be eſtabliſhed a
" par-

" particular fund for the extraordinary ex-
" penſes, the money of which ſhould be
" appropriated to the payment of money
" becoming due and in arrear, and to the
" reimburſement of the capitals of all the
" debts of which the extinction ſhould be
" decreed. That the funds ariſing, 1ſt,
" from the patriotic contributions, *the ſale*
" *of the demeſnes of the crown*, the foreſts
" and royal palaces which his Majeſty
" ſhould chooſe to reſerve excepted; and
" 2dly, from the ſale of the eccleſiaſtical
" demeſnes, to raiſe together a ſum of four
" hundred millions, ſhould be thrown into
" this fund; that there ſhould be iſſued
" upon the credit of the extraordinary fund,
" *Aſſignats* of one thouſand livres each,
" bearing an intereſt of five per cent. to
" the amount of the value of the ſaid pro-
" perty to be ſold, which *Aſſignats* ſhould
" be received in preference for the purchaſe
" of the ſaid property; that of the ſaid
" *Aſſignats* there ſhould be extinguiſhed, by
" means of the ſaid ſales, the produce of
" the patriotic contributions, and all other
" extraordinary receipts that might take
" place, one hundred and twenty mil-

" lions

" lions in 1791, eighty millions in 1792, " eighty millions in 1793, eighty millions " in 1794, and the ſurplus in 1795."

The laſt article was framed according to corrections propoſed by Mr. *Necker*.

Thus ſprung up, under the name of *Aſſignats*, that fatal paper-money, at firſt deviſed to cover a deficit of one hundred and ſeventy millions, and which in a little time became by audacious impoſitions the moſt diſaſtrous revolutionary means, the inſtrument of all plundering, of every poſſible ruin, the wages of every crime, in a word, the ſcourge of France, of Europe, of humanity itſelf; till, by a bankruptcy of forty thouſand millions, it ſunk into the ſame gulph into which it had precipitated all property.

The end of this year of misfortunes and of crimes preſents only one remarkable event more, that of the arreſt of the unfortunate Marquis *de Favras*, and the commencement of his trial. This Gentleman, whoſe youth had been very boiſterous, ſtill retained in his riper years that ardent, intriguing character, that preſumption and imprudence which had ſo often miſled him; and his attachment to royalty taking place of his

his other paſſions, took alſo the nature of them. The outrages of the 5th and 6th of October raiſed in him the ſtrongeſt deſire to attempt every thing to reſcue the Royal Family from the dangers that threatened them; and he formed a ſcheme with more zeal than prudence for carrying off the King. His mode of accompliſhing this, was to be by means of an army of about thirty thouſand Royaliſts, whoſe enrolment and arming were to be effected ſo ſecretly, that nothing of it was to tranſpire till the moment of action. As an enterpriſe of this nature required conſiderable funds, and as money was an article which the Marquis *de Favras* was the leaſt provided with, he took every poſſible ſtep to procure it. He applied to ſeveral bankers, and communicated his plan to the Royaliſts of his acquaintance whom he thought the likelieſt to aſſiſt him with their purſes; but he obtained more praiſe than confidence from them.

It happened at this time that MONSIEUR, the King's brother, who had for ſeveral months before been deprived of the poſſeſſion of his revenues by a ſeries of different operations

operations of the Aſſembly, and who had conſiderable payments to make in the month of January, was conſidering how to fulfil his engagements without being burdenſome to the public treaſury. To do this in a leſs chargeable way than the general modes of borrowing in ſo critical a moment, that Prince had formed a plan of negotiating bonds to the amount of the ſum he wanted. *M. de Favras*, who ſome years before had ſerved in MONSIEUR's Swiſs Guards, was pointed out to him by the Marquis *de la Châtre* as a very proper perſon to accompliſh the buſineſs with the bankers *Chomel* and *Sartorius:* in conſequence his Royal Highneſs had ſigned an obligation for two millions, and charged his treaſurer to attend to the tranſaction.

The indiſcretion of ſome of the numerous confidents of *M. de Favras'* plan, and his own imprudence in blending and purſuing together the ſteps relative to that, and thoſe which concerned the negotiation of the obligation for two millions executed by MONSIEUR, excited the attention and uneaſineſs of the Committee of Inquiry. They cauſed the Marquis *de Favras* and

his lady to be arreſted in the night between the 24th and 25th of December, and accuſed them of "Conſpiracy againſt the "order of things eſtabliſhed by conſent "of the Nation and of the King; of having "formed to that effect a project for in-"troducing in the night-time armed men "into the Capital, to murder the three "chief perſons in the Adminiſtration, at-"tack the King's Guard, carry off the "State ſeal, and remove their Majeſties to "Peronne; of having attempted to cor-"rupt ſome of the National Guards, and "to miſlead them by promiſes and de-"ceitful confidence; of having had con-"ferences with bankers, for the purpoſe "of obtaining very conſiderable ſums; and "with other perſons, for the purpoſe of "extending the plot, if poſſible, to diffe-"rent provinces."

The day after *M. de Favras* and his wife were arreſted, the following paper was circulated with the greateſt profuſion through the Capital:

"The Marquis *de Favras* (Place-Roy-'ale) was with his wife arreſted on the "nigh-

" night between the 24th and 25th, on
" account of a plan which he had pro-
" jected to raiſe thirty thouſand men, to
" cauſe *M. de la Fayette* and the Mayor
" of the town to be murdered, and then
" to cut off our proviſions. — MON-
" SIEUR, the King's brother, was at the
" head of it.

(Signed) BARAUZ."

This public denunciation of the King's brother, which was quickly aggravated by the commentaries of the factious, and by the exaggerations of calumny, raiſed the greateſt fermentation in the Capital, not only againſt that Prince, but againſt the King himſelf, who was ſuppoſed to be in combination with his brother. A violent and ſuddden exploſion ſeemed inevitable, and certainly would have taken place, if MONSIEUR, who was not at liberty to deſpiſe dangers with which the King and the Royal Family were not leſs threatened than himſelf, had not taken the only ſtep that could diſpel this ſtorm. He repaired on the 26th to the Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of the Commune, by whom he

was received with all the reſpect and attention due to him. "Gentlemen," ſaid he, "the deſire of repelling an atrocious "calumny brings me among you. *M. de* "*Favras* was arreſted the day before yeſ- "terday, by order of your Committee of "Inquiry, and it is now ſtudiouſly re- "ported that I am particularly connected "with him. I thought I owed it to the "King, to you, and to myſelf, to come "and inform you of the only knowledge "I have of *M. de Favras.*" After ſtating exactly and ſimply the facts relative to the obligation of two millions, as I have already mentioned, MONSIEUR added: "I "have neither ſeen *M. de Favras*, writ- "ten to him, nor had any communication "whatever with him. Whatever beſides "he may have done I am perfectly unac- "quainted with; yet I find a paper cir- "culating in great numbers through the "town, ſigned *Barauz*, and in theſe "terms:—" He then read the paper, and ſaid: "You cannot certainly expect "that I ſhould condeſcend to juſtify my- "ſelf againſt ſo vile a charge," &c. &c. &c.

This ſpeech was greatly and unanimouſly applaudec

applauded by the Aſſembly and the galleries. The Mayor, in his reply, expreſſed the ſentiments of reſpect and attachment felt by the Aſſembly for MONSIEUR, and the boundleſs confidence inſpired by his virtues. *M. de la Fayette* ſpoke after *M. Bailly*, and ſaid, that he had taken care to have the authors of the paper arreſted, and that they were in priſon. MONSIEUR requeſted a pardon for them, but the Aſſembly decided that they ſhould be puniſhed. The Prince thought it proper alſo to inform the National Aſſembly of the motives that had induced him to take this ſtep, and in conſequence ſent them a copy of the ſpeech he had made at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, accompanied by a note, in which he ſaid that he ſhould lay before the Aſſembly the ſtate of the debts which he propoſed to pay with the two millions for which he had executed the obligation.

This conduct diſſipated the uneaſineſs and ſuſpicions which had been conceived reſpecting the ſentiments of MONSIEUR, and of the Royal Family, and the popular rage turned entirely againſt *M. de Favras*. No doubt was entertained of his having formed

a plot for aſſaſſinating *M. Bailly* and *M. de la Fayette;* and the Committee of Inquiry neglected nothing that could confirm the opinion. On the 29th of December they denounced to the Aſſembly a pretended attack made upon the perſon of a ſentinel of the National Guard, found the preceding day *murdered* in a ſentry-box by a perſon who could not be diſtinguiſhed from the darkneſs of the night. In fact, there had been found in the ſentry-box a kind of long punch, the iron of which was ruſty and bent, and a bit of paper folded in two, on which was written: *Go before, La Fayette ſhall follow you.* The ſurgeon called to prove this pretended murder depoſed that the wound was not dangerous; that the blow from the punch had been made obliquely, high on the fore part of the neck, below the chin, and had penetrated very ſuperficially.

One muſt have been a member of the Committee of Inquiry not to preſume upon all the circumſtances, that the *murdered* might be the murderer, and to denounce ſo inconſiderately to the Aſſembly as a counter-revolutionary crime, an action which was

was certainly very atrocious and very awkward, but which was abſolutely in the ſpirit of the Revolution. The Diſtrict of the Capuchins of the Marais, to which this ſentinel belonged, were not deceived in the buſineſs, and ſent the man ſo badly murdered to the priſon of the Abbaye, where the firſt night of his confinement he ſtabbed himſelf thrice with a knife, nor would he anſwer any interrogatories that were put to him. But theſe circumſtances were not known for four days after, and they did not weaken the opinion of thoſe who were willing to believe the great plot formed againſt *M. de la Fayette.*

On the 31ſt of December, the Preſident of the National Aſſembly, at the head of a numerous Deputation, went to the Palace at ten o'clock at night, to compliment the King and Queen on the new year. The ſpeech he addreſſed to the King will be preſerved by hiſtory as an authentic teſtimony of his Majeſty's virtues. The King replied—" I only wiſh for the happineſs " of my ſubjects, and I hope, with you, " that the year we are entering upon will

" be a period of proſperity and felicity for " France."

Alas! it ſtill depended on the Aſſembly to realize that hope.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXI.

Decree relative to Penſions—Deputation to the King for ſettling the Civil Liſt—His Majeſty's Reply—The Marquis de Favras' Trial—Fury of the People—Aſſembling of Soldiers in the Champs Eliſées ſuppreſſed by M. de la Fayette—The Marquis de Favras condemned to Death and executed—His Heroiſm—Organization of the New Municipalities—An important Step taken by the King in the Aſſembly—His Majeſty's Speech attended with great Applauſe—Expreſſions of the Queen—Addreſs of Thanks to their Majeſties—Oath taken by the Aſſembly and all the Spectators—Advantage that might have been drawn from that Circumſtance—M. Ma-

M. Malouet's Motion on that Occaſion rejected—The Preſident's Speech to the King—Te Deum—Illumination—Diviſion of France into Diſtricts—An Addreſs to the People decreed by the Aſſembly, and drawn up by the Biſhop of Autun.

THE laſt Sittings of the old year were occupied by the debates upon the reduction of the penſions granted by the Government. The moſt odious compariſons and the moſt inſulting epithets had been laviſhed on the unfortunate penſioners. *Their liſt* was ſaid to be *only a catalogue of vile courtiers or contemptible flatterers:* they were marked out for the public hatred, ſometimes as *leeches of the State*, ſometimes as *the locuſts that deſtroyed the harveſts of Egypt.* A Captain of Grenadiers, who had frequently purchaſed with his blood the honour of being placed on that liſt, irritated at finding himſelf ſo unworthily treated, went to the houſe of one of the Deputies who had declaimed the moſt violently againſt the penſions, and, ſhowing him his head, an arm, a leg, and a wriſt, all of which had been broken, ſaid, "Sir, I will come ſtark naked

"to

" to the door of the National Aſſembly. I " will expoſe my ſcars, and I will call for " the ſavage who would reduce me to " want."

This energetic expoſtulation, which was repeated to the Aſſembly by the member to whom it was addreſſed, (the Baron *de Wimpfen*) mitigated their ſeverity: they nevertheleſs decreed, that the arrears of all penſions and ſalaries that did not exceed the ſum of 3000 livres ſhould be paid according to the exiſting regulations, but that all above 3000 livres ſhould only be paid proviſionally that ſum, old perſons of the age of ſeventy years excepted, the *maximum* of whoſe payments was proviſionally fixed at the ſum of 12,000 livres. By the ſame Decree it was ordained, that from the 1ſt of January 1790 the payment of all penſions, reſerved ſalaries, gifts, and gratuities, becoming due, ſhould be deferred until the 1ſt of July following, to be then made according to what ſhould have been decreed, and that a Committee ſhould be appointed for the purpoſe of immediately laying before the Aſſembly a plan for reducing, ſuppreſſing, or augmenting the penſions or annual gratuities actually exiſting.

This

This Decree, which certainly preſſed hard upon the claſs of the great penſioners, was dictated by neceſſity; and it would alſo have been as juſt as circumſtances would have permitted, had it not had a retroſpective effect in reducing the ſums that had previouſly fallen due. But the particular murmurs excited by this reform were nothing in compariſon to the applauſes obtained by the Aſſembly, for the Decree paſſed in the ſame Sitting relative to the Civil Liſt. They ſent a Deputation to the King, to beg that he would himſelf have the goodneſs to fix the ſum he would have the Aſſembly vote for his perſonal expences and thoſe of his auguſt family; and they expreſſly charged the head of the Deputation to beſeech his Majeſty "to conſult, on this occaſion, leſs his ſpirit "of economy than the dignity of the "French Nation, which required that the "Throne of the Monarch ſhould be ſupported with great luſtre."

The King made the following Reply to the Preſident of the Aſſembly, who was at the head of the Deputation:

"I am very ſenſible of the Reſolution "taken by the National Aſſembly, and of "the

" the ſentiments you expreſs to me on their
" part. I will not abuſe their confidence;
" and before I ſignify my mind on the ſub-
" ject of their Deputation, I will wait till
" from the reſult of their labours there ſhall
" be funds ſecured for the payment of the
" intereſt due to the creditors of the State,
" and to anſwer the neceſſary expences of
" public order, and the defence of the
" Kingdom. What perſonally regards my-
" ſelf is, in the preſent ſituation of things,
" the leaſt of my concerns."

Although the King's ſentiments were ſufficiently known to give room for expecting this reply, it created the livelieſt tranſports of enthuſiaſm, tenderneſs, and joy: four different times did the ſhouts of *Vive le Roi!* and a general clapping burſt out at once from every part of the Hall and galleries. Members and ſpectators all at that moment were Royaliſts.

Very different was the ſcene publicly paſſing at the Châtelet, in the affair of the Marquis *de Favras*. The fury of the populace againſt him had riſen to ſuch a pitch of violence, that it was not poſſible to continue the proceedings in his trial. Twelve witneſſes

neſſes attended the Court on the 11th of January; but the horrible cry of *Favras à la lanterne!* unanimouſly roared out by an immenſe crowd, forced both the witneſſes and Judges to withdraw. Nor was the Court leſs tumultuous the next day, although all the National Guards were under arms, and ſeveral cannon placed before the Châtelet. On the ſame day riotous aſſemblies were formed in the *Champs Eliſées*, principally compoſed of the ſoldiers of the former French Guards. The real motives of their aſſembling were not known: the demand of an augmentation of pay and of farther engagement appeared to be their object; but ſo conſiderable an armed meeting cloſe to the Palace and to the National Aſſembly, could not but be very alarming. *M. de la Fayette* marched out with a ſufficient force to reduce the rioters, who ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded laid down their arms. *M. de la Fayette* cauſed near 200 of them to be taken up, and their coats to be ſtripped off their backs, and the ſame day they were ſent to the priſons of St. Denis.

This adventure intimidated the populace, or rather the brigands who had taken up their winter quarters in the ſuburbs of the

Capital; and at laſt on the 13th of January the trial of the Marquis *de Favras* came on, and ſome of the witneſſes were examined. The concourſe of people was not leſs than before, but a numerous guard ſecured tranquillity. In the environs of the Châtelet they arreſted a perſon tolerably well dreſſed, who was talking in a ſeditious manner, and carried him before *Grandin* the Commiſſioner. He appeared to be really aſtoniſhed at being arreſted, and complained bitterly to the Commiſſioner of the miſtake. "What! "Gentlemen," ſaid he, "a'n't I a good "citizen? I, who cut off the heads of "*Foulon* and *Launay*; who tore out their "hearts and bowels!" Then taking a knife out of his pocket, he ſhowed it as the inſtrument he had uſed. On its being obſerved to him, that his knife was too ſmall for ſuch a purpoſe, he ſaid that he had been a butcher and a cook, and underſtood amputations*. Such was already the progreſs of the morality profeſſed by the Factious, and preached by their Agents! the moſt atrocious acts of barbarity were but acts of civiſm—of patriotiſm!

* See the paper of the *Moniteur* of the 15th of January 1790.

Moſt

Moſt of the witneſſes examined on the trial of *M. de Favras* gave only vague hearſay evidence reſpecting the dangers of the King, the advantages that would reſult from carrying off the Royal Family, the poſſibility of executing ſuch a plan, and the like. Two perſons of the names of *Turcati* and *Morel* were the only witneſſes who preciſely ſpoke to any ſerious facts. The former declared, that *M. de Favras* had communicated to him "A plan for form-" ing a corps of cavalry, to be compoſed of " the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons and moſt " devoted to the King; that *M. de Favras* " had commiſſioned him to raiſe a body of " troops and volunteers, in order to carry " off the King, Royal Family, and the " Keeper of the Seals; and laſtly, that his " project was to make uſe of the horſes in " the King's ſtables for this body of troops, " but that *M. de St. Prieſt* had refuſed them " to him."

M. de Favras denied all theſe facts, or explained them in the moſt ſatisfactory manner. He ſaid, with reſpect to the horſes in the King's ſtables, "That being at Ver-" ſailles on the 5th of October, he went to " the *Oeil-de-Bœuf* in the Palace, and ob-" ſerving

" ſerving there a general depreſſion at the " news that women were coming from " Paris with cannon, he propoſed to *M. de* " *St. Prieſt* to furniſh him with horſes from " the King's ſtables, to diſtribute them " among his Majeſty's moſt zealous ſer- " vants, and to go and take the cannon " from the women; that *M. de St. Prieſt* " going into the King's apartment made " him wait a long time, and at laſt came " and told him that it was all unneceſſary, " as *M. de la Fayette* was coming from " Paris with ſix thouſand men to protect " the Palace." The truth of this ſtatement was corroborated by the evidence of *M. de St. Prieſt*, and the other two facts advanced in *Turcati's* depoſition were abſurdities too evident not to create very great ſuſpicion of impoſture. *M. de Favras*, a man without fortune, and very little known, had no means, nor was he in any point of view in a ſituation, to rally around him the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons of the Kingdom: he was neither mad enough to flatter himſelf that he could, nor fool enough to ſay it. The pretended commiſſion given to *Turcati to raiſe a body of troops and volunteers* was not more probable. To levy troops required

funds, and *Turcati* did not ſay that he had received any money from *M. de Favras*; ſo that, if it had been even proved that the latter had ſpoken what *Turcati* charged him with, common ſenſe could look upon it in no other light than as an extravagant boaſt or ſilly jeſt.

Morel's evidence was ſtill more ſerious, but not leſs ſuſpicious, than that of *Turcati's*: He depoſed, that *M. de Favras* had told him in confidence; "that he was "in correſpondence with the Provinces of "Artois, Picardy, Hainaut, Lorraine, "Champagne, and Alſace; that he ſhould "aſſemble 26,000 Gentlemen from theſe "Provinces, at Montargis, for the purpoſe "of effecting a Counter-Revolution; that "in the mean-time, and to open this grand "buſineſs, he was to introduce into Paris "by night 1200 horſemen, divided into "three corps, who were to go to the "quarters of the town where *M. Bailly*, "*M. de la Fayette*, and *M. Necker* reſided, "to put them to death, and afterwards "they were to meet in the *Champs Eliſées* "to carry off the Royal Family; that "*M. de Favras*, to prevail upon him to "enter into his views, had told him that

" he had engaged the Officers and Serjeants " of the 8000 Swiſs in his plan; that the " 26,000 Gentlemen were to repair to St. " Denis, to eſcort the King to his deſtina- " tion, and that he had provided magazines " of arms and ammunition at St. Ger- " main's and the neighbourhood, &c. &c." This witneſs on his re-examination farther declared, that he was himſelf the perſon whom *M. de Favras* had charged to put *M. de la Fayette* to death.

On his examination *M. de Favras* exclaimed with indignation againſt all theſe aſſertions as falſe. " They cannot," ſaid he, " prove a ſingle one. I never had any " connection with any Swiſs Serjeant. How " could I think of aſſembling 26,000 men " at Montargis without its being known " and oppoſed? How could I have brought " them to St. Denis from ſo many different " Provinces without their march exciting " ſuſpicions and alarm upon all the roads, " and without their being obſtructed? Let " my denouncers, for theſe pretended wit- " neſſes are really my denouncers, and as " ſuch cannot be admitted to give evi- " dence—but let them point out, however,

" where thoſe pretended magazines of arms " were, where the 1200 horſes, and what " was the place of meeting."

Theſe two witneſſes obſtinately refuſed to make any anſwer to the queſtions urged to them by *M. de Favras* in croſs-examining them, but perſiſted in the truth of their depoſition. Suppoſing againſt all appearances, that *Morel* and *Turcati* were not falſe witneſſes, it is not leſs certain that the facts ſpoken to by the one, far from being the ſame as thoſe ſpoken to by the other, were abſolutely different, and conſequently they could not eſtabliſh any legal proof; for, according to the old criminal juriſprudence of France, which was ſtill adhered to at that period, the teſtimony of one perſon was not ſufficient: *teſtis unus teſtis nullus.* But unfortunately for *M. de Favras* the proceedings were carried on before the public; and he had but too convincing a proof that this new mode, proper perhaps in times of tranquillity, is in times of commotion as favourable to crimes as it is fatal to innocence.—The populace were preſent—the brigands, exaſperated at having ſeen *M. de Buzenval* ſet at liberty, and his criminal indict-

ment

ment converted into a civil action, ſhowed by their threats and howlings that they would not ſuffer themſelves to be ſo eaſily deprived of this ſecond victim. Theſe ferocious clamours devoted *M. de Favras* to death: the Chatelet!—condemned him to it!—*M. de Favras* proteſted his innocence to the laſt moment of his life; and ſubmitted to his fate with a preſence of mind, ſerenity, and courage ſo extraordinary, that he excited the aſtoniſhment and admiration of all who were preſent at his execution. Hiſtory preſents few examples of ſo heroic a death.

While the fermentation in the Capital was excited and kept up by the public Sittings at the Chatelet, the National Aſſembly were deliberating upon the diviſion of France into Diſtricts, and upon the organization of the Muncipalities; and the Breton Club, now become the Club of the Jacobins, extending its powers and its affiliations through all the Provinces, was propagating every where the Revolutionary Fanaticiſm, and all its fury.

How muſt it have mortified and grieved the King to ſee that all the ſacrifices to which he had been led by the hope of mak-

ing his ſubjects happy, produced only commotion, calamity, and crimes; that, inſtead of the tribute of love and confidence ſo juſtly his due, ſuſpicion, diſtruſt and ingratitude were the only returns for his cares and affection; that his moſt faithful ſervants were every where the objects of the perſecution and hatred of that people for whom he had done ſo much! His Majeſty was particularly affected by the ſanguinary cruelty that was diſplayed againſt *M. de Favras*, whoſe only crime was not having ſufficiently diſguiſed ſentiments, perhaps too wild, in favour of Royalty. It was not eaſy to find a remedy for ſo many evils. What was to be done to put an end to ſo many vexations, ſo many diſſenſions; to reconcile ſuch oppoſite opinions and intereſts; to moderate on the one hand the Revolutionary enthuſiaſm, and on the other the reſentment and zeal of the Royaliſts? The Miniſters thought, and perſuaded the King, that the only means from which he could hope this effect, was to yield frankly and entirely to a Revolution which it was no longer poſſible to avoid or to ſtop; to endeavour to ſupply by popularity the authority and power he had loſt, and, for this purpoſe, to join in a more intimate

and

and ſolemn manner in the labours of the Aſſembly on the new Conſtitution; in a word, to take the lead in the Revolution, the better to direct it. This hope determined his Majeſty to adopt the important conduct in the Aſſembly which I am now to relate.

On the 4th of February, in the morning, the King by a letter informed the Preſident that he intended to go to the Aſſembly at noon, and deſired to be received without ceremony. The Preſident, however, who had been informed of it the day before, had ordered a chair and carpets. This was approved of by the Aſſembly, who voted a Deputation of four-and-twenty members to meet the King, and that the Preſident alone ſhould be empowered to ſpeak in his Majeſty's preſence. The Secretary's deſk was removed beyond the bar. A chair covered with purple velvet was put in the place occupied by the Preſident, and a ſimilar piece of velvet was ſpread as a carpet at the foot of the chair. The Preſident having no ſeat performed his office ſtanding, till the King arrived; when he went at the head of the Deputation to receive him at the entrance of the Hall, conducted him to the chair appro-

priated for him, and took his place on the right of his Majeſty. Repeated applauſes and ſhouts of *Vive le Roi!* reſounded throughout the Hall the moment his Majeſty appeared. He was attended only by his Miniſters and ſome of his pages. All the members of the Aſſembly were ſtanding, and the King remaining ſo likewiſe delivered the following Speech:

"GENTLEMEN,

"I am come among you, impelled by the ſerious ſituation of our Country. The gradual relaxation of all the bonds of order and ſubordination; the ſuſpenſion or inactivity of Juſtice; the diſcontents ariſing from private loſſes; the oppoſitions, the unfortunate animoſities, which are the unavoidable conſequences of long diſſenſions; the critical ſituation of the finances, and the doubts reſpecting the public wealth; in fine, the general agitation, all ſeem to conſpire to keep alive the anxiety of the real friends of the proſperity and happineſs of the Kingdom.

"A grand object lies before you, but it muſt be attained without farther diſturbances or new convulſions. I cannot but ſay that it

it was my hope to have led you to it in a milder and more tranquil manner, when I formed the deſign of aſſembling you, and of uniting for the public welfare the talents and inclinations of the Repreſentatives of the Nation; but my happineſs and my glory are not the leſs cloſely connected with the ſucceſs of your labours.

"I have, with unremitting vigilance, protected them againſt the fatal influence which the unhappy circumſtances of the times might have over them. The horrors of famine which ſtared us in the face laſt year, have been removed by infinite care, in conſequence of which there have been immenſe ſupplies of proviſions. The diſorder that might naturally enſue from the old ſtate of the finances, from the ſinking of credit, the exceſſive ſcarcity of money, and the gradual decay of the revenue; that diſorder, at leaſt in exceſs, has been hitherto averted. I have every where, and eſpecially in the Capital, guarded againſt the dangerous conſequences of the want of work, and notwithſtanding the loſs of vigour in all the ſprings of authority, I have maintained the Kingdom, not indeed in the calm I could have wiſhed, far from it, but

but in a ſtate of tranquillity ſufficient to receive the benefit of a wife and well-ordered liberty: laſtly, in ſpite of our domeſtic ſituation generally known, and in ſpite of the political ſtorms that agitate other Nations, I have preſerved peace abroad, and I have continued with all the powers of Europe in thoſe bonds of reſpect and amity that are likely to render the peace durable.

"Having thus ſecured you from obſtacles which might ſo eaſily have obſtructed your cares and your labours, I think the moment is arrived when the intereſt of the State requires that I ſhould join in a manner more expreſs and manifeſt, in the execution and iſſue of all that you have been planning for the good of France. I cannot ſeize a more ſuitable occaſion than when you preſent me for my concurrence decrees for eſtabliſhing throughout the Kingdom a new organization, which muſt have ſo important and propitious an influence on the welfare of my ſubjects, and the proſperity of this Empire.

"Gentlemen, you are aware, that more than ten years ago, and at a time when the wiſhes of the Nation were not made known reſpecting the Provincial Aſſemblies, I had begun

begun to ſubſtitute this kind of Adminiſtration in the room of one that had been conſecrated by immemorial uſage. Experience having convinced me that I was not miſtaken in the opinion I had conceived of the utility of theſe eſtabliſhments, I have endeavoured to extend the benefit of them through all the Provinces of my Kingdom; and in order to inſpire general confidence in the new modes of Adminiſtration, it was my deſire that the members that were to compoſe it ſhould be freely appointed by the citizens. You have improved theſe views in ſeveral ways, and particularly by that equal and wiſely deſigned ſubdiviſion, which by weakening the effect of the former ſeparation of Province from Province, and eſtabliſhing a general and complete ſyſtem of an equal balance, better unites all the parts of the Kingdom in one mind and one intereſt. This grand idea, this ſalutary contrivance, is entirely due to you; but unanimity in the Repreſentatives of the Nation, and their juſt aſcendency over the general opinion, are neceſſary in order to undertake with confidence an alteration of ſuch great importance, and to overcome with the force of

of reaſon the reſiſtance of habit and private intereſt.

" I will uſe all the means in my power to promote the ſucceſs of this ſtupendous organization, on which, in my opinion, the ſafety of France depends: and I frankly tell you, that occupied as I am with the interior ſituation of the Kingdom, and having my eyes continually open upon the dangers of every kind with which we are ſurrounded, I cannot but be fully ſenſible, that in the preſent diſpoſition of the public mind, and ſituation of public affairs, it is neceſſary that a new order of things ſhould be eſtabliſhed calmly and peaceably, or the Kingdom will be expoſed to all the calamities of anarchy.

" Let the real citizens reflect upon it as I have done, by fixing their attention only on the good of the State, and they will find, that even with different opinions they are now urged by a ſupereminent intereſt to unite. Time will correct what may remain defective in the laws framed by this Aſſembly; but every enterpriſe that tends to ſhake the principles of the Conſtitution itſelf, every deſign the object of which was to overthrow

overthrow or weaken the happy influence of it, would only ſerve to introduce amongſt us the frightful evils of diſcord; and ſuppoſing that ſuch an attempt againſt my people and me ſhould be ſucceſsful, the reſult would deprive us of many advantages we have in view from the new order of things, without ſubſtituting any thing in their ſtead.

" Let us then ſincerely indulge in the hopes we may conceive, and let us think only of realiſing them by unanimity. Let it be every where known, that the Monarch and the Repreſentatives of the Nation are united in one intereſt and one wiſh, that this opinion and firm belief may ſpread a ſpirit of peace and good will throughout the Provinces, and that all citizens of good character, all who are able to ſerve the State eſſentially by their zeal and their talents, may be ready to take a part in the different ſubdiviſions of the general Adminiſtration, every link of which ſhould concur efficaciouſly in reſtoring the order and proſperity of the Kingdom.

" We muſt not deceive ourſelves; much is to be done before we can attain this object. An invariable will, with a general and common effort, are abſolutely neceſſary to inſure

inſure ſucceſs. Continue then your labours, unmixed with any paſſion but that of doing good; devote your firſt attention to the lot of the people, and public liberty; but take pains alſo to abate, to remove all diſtruſt, and put an end as ſoon as poſſible to the vexations which drive ſo many citizens from France, and the effect of which is contrary to the laws of ſafety and liberty you would eſtabliſh. There can be no return of proſperity without general content. We every where perceive hopes, let us be anxious to ſee happineſs alſo every where.

" I am fond of believing that one day all Frenchmen indiſcriminately will acknowledge the propriety of ſuppreſſing entirely the diſtinction of Order or State, in calling on perſons to work in common for the public good, for that proſperity of the Country which concerns all citizens alike; and every man ought to ſee without pain, that in future a reputation for talents and virtue will be a ſufficient qualification for being appointed to ſerve the State in any manner.

" At the ſame time, however, whatever recalls to the memory of a Nation the antiquity and continuance of the ſervices of an honoured family, is a diſtinction which nothing

nothing can aboliſh; and as it is connected with the duties of gratitude, thoſe of every claſs of ſociety who aſpire to render their Country eſſential ſervice, and thoſe who enjoy the honour of having already done ſo, are intereſted reſpecting that perpetuation of titles or remembrances which are the faireſt inheritance that men can tranſmit to their children.

" Neither can the reſpect due to the Miniſters of Religion be effaced; for, that reſpect being principally connected with the holy truths which are the ſafeguard of order and morality, all good and enlightened citizens have an equal intereſt in maintaining and defending it.

" No doubt, they who have relinquiſhed their pecuniary privileges, they who no longer form, as heretefore, a political order in the State, will find themſelves ſubjected to ſacrifices of which I know all the importance; but I am perſuaded their generoſity will lead them to find conſolation in the public advantages to be hoped from the eſtabliſhment of the National Aſſemblies.

" I too ſhould have many loſſes to reckon, could I, in the midſt of the greateſt intereſts

tereſts of the State, waſte my thoughts on private calculations; but I receive a compenſation that is enough for me, a full and complete compenſation, in the increaſe of the happineſs of my people, and it is from the bottom of my heart I here ſay this.

" I will defend, then, and maintain the conſtitutional liberty, the principles of which have been conſecrated by the general wiſh in union with mine. I will do more, and in concert with the Queen, whoſe ſentiments are the ſame as mine, I will early train the mind and heart of my ſon to the new order of things which circumſtances have introduced. I will habituate him, from his earlieſt years, to place his happineſs upon that of the French; and to know, in ſpite of the language of flattery, that a wiſe Conſtitution will preſerve him from the dangers of inexperience; and that a juſt liberty adds a freſh value to the ſentiments of love and loyalty, of which the Nation has for ſo many ages given ſuch affecting proofs to their Kings.

" I will not for a moment doubt, that in completing your work you will attend with wiſdom and candour to the ſupport of the Executive

Executive Power, without which neither durable order at home nor reſpect abroad can be maintained. You can have no reaſonable diſtruſt remaining: it is therefore your duty, as Citizens, and as faithful Repreſentatives of the Nation, to ſecure for the State and Public Liberty that ſtability which can reſult only from an active and tutelary authority. You will ſurely keep in mind, that without ſuch an authority all the parts of your ſyſtem of Conſtitution would be deſtitute at once of connection and harmony; and while you are attending to the liberty you love, and which I love too, you will not forget that diſorder in Adminiſtration, by introducing confuſion in the powers, often degenerates through blind violence into the moſt dangerous and moſt alarming of all tyrannies.

"Thus, Gentlemen, not for me, (for I throw perſonal intereſts out of the queſtion, in conſidering laws and inſtitutions that are to regulate the deſtiny of the Empire,) but for the happineſs of our Country, for its proſperity and its power, I call upon you to diſmiſs from your minds all impreſſions of the moment which might divert you from

conſidering in its whole what ſuch a Kingdom as that of France requires, as well from its vaſt extent and immenſe population, as from its inevitable relations abroad.

" Neither will you refuſe your attention to what is alſo required of you as legiſlators, by the manners, character, and cuſtoms of a nation which has become, from its ſpirit and genius, too celebrated in Europe to make it a matter of indifference whether the ſentiments of mildneſs and confidence, which have gained it ſo much reputation, ſhould be ſupported or altered.

" Give it likewiſe an example of that ſpirit of juſtice which is the ſafeguard of property, of that right reſpected by all nations, which is not the work of chance, or indebted to opinion for privileges, but which is ſtrictly connected with the eſſential relations of public order, and the foundations of ſocial harmony.

" Why is it, when tranquillity was returning, that new troubles have broken out in the Provinces? Why is it, that the People there give themſelves up to new exceſſes? Join with me to put a ſtop to them; let

let us uſe all our efforts to prevent criminal violences from ariſing to tarniſh theſe days in which the happineſs of the Nation is the buſineſs of our minds. Do you, who have ſuch means of influencing the public, convince the People, who are miſled, of their real intereſts; that People who are ſo dear to me, and by whom they who would conſole me for my anxieties aſſure me that I am beloved. Did they know how unhappy it makes me to hear of unjuſt attempts againſt property, or acts of violence againſt the perſons of my ſubjects, perhaps they would ſpare me the heavy affliction.

"While I am ſpeaking of the great concerns of the State, I cannot omit preſſing you to attend earneſtly and deciſively to whatever relates to the re-eſtabliſhment of order in the finances, and to the tranquillity of an immenſe number of citizens who are dependent on the public reſources: it is time to relieve all uneaſineſs; it is time to reſtore to this Kingdom the credit it has a right to enjoy. You cannot undertake every thing at once; I therefore invite you to reſerve for other times a part of thoſe benefits which

the union of your talents has brought into your view. But when you have added to what you have already done, a wiſe and reaſonable plan for the adminiſtration of juſtice; when you have ſecured the foundations of a perfect equilibrium between the revenue and the expences of the State; in fine, when you have completed the Conſtitution, you will be juſtly entitled to the gratitude of the public; and in the ſucceſſion of National Aſſemblies, a ſucceſſion founded on that very Conſtitution, it will only be requiſite to add from year to year new meaſures of proſperity to all thoſe ſettled by you. May this day, on which your King comes to unite himſelf moſt frankly and moſt cordially with you, be a memorable epocha in the hiſtory of this Empire! I truſt it will, if my ardent wiſhes, and my earneſt exhortations, be the ſignal of peace and unanimity. Let thoſe who yet feel reluctant to joining heartily in a ſpirit of harmony become ſo neceſſary, ſacrifice to me all their painful recollections, and I will repay them with my gratitude and affection.—Let us all, and I ſet you the example, profeſs but one opinion, one intereſt, one will, an

an attachment to the new Conſtitution, and an ardent deſire for the peace, happineſs, and proſperity of France."

This Declaration, ſo paternal, ſo conciliating, excited the livelieſt emotion in the Aſſembly: continued clapping of hands interrupted the King's ſpeech almoſt at every ſentence, and anticipated to his Majeſty the ſincerity of the gratitude, reſpect, and love expreſſed in the Preſident's reply.

The Deputation that attended the King on his leaving the Aſſembly reported, that the Royal Family had come to meet the King, and that the Queen had addreſſed the Deputation in the following words: "My "ſentiments are the ſame as the King's, "and I concur with heart and mind in the "ſtep which his love for his People has "now led him to take. Here is my ſon; "I will talk to him conſtantly of the vir-"tues of the beſt of Fathers. I will teach "him early to cheriſh public liberty, and "I truſt he will be the firmeſt ſupporter of "it."

The Aſſembly, who, while their Deputation were attending the King on his return,

had voted an addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty, charged the Deputation appointed to preſent it, to pay the ſame reſpects to the Queen, and to aſſure their Majeſties, that all the members had concurred ſincerely in heart, ſentiments, and affection, to conſecrate this union.

It was now unanimouſly decreed, that all the Deputies ſhould immediately take the civic oath by the call of names, and that thoſe who were abſent ſhould not be admitted but on condition of doing the ſame.—The Preſident aſcended the tribune firſt, and took the oath in theſe terms: "I ſwear to "be faithful to the Nation, the Law, and "the King, and to maintain to the utmoſt "of my power the Conſtitution decreed "by the National Aſſembly, and accepted "by the King."

As ſoon as the call of names was finiſhed, the crowd of ſpectators that filled the tribunes, participating the enthuſiaſm, roſe and took the ſame oath, amidſt the applauſes of the Aſſembly. The motive on which the oath was propoſed and adopted, was a hope of extinguiſhing all diſſenſions, by rallying all parties in a common engagement around

around the Conſtitution and the King, who had now made himſelf a part of it.

What good effects might have been drawn from this general union and enthuſiaſm, had the Miniſters known how to have taken advantage of it! Had the King pointed out more preciſely to the Aſſembly the part he wiſhed them to take, his Majeſty might have added at the concluſion of his ſpeech ſomething to the following effect: "But, "Gentlemen, it is not in the midſt of trou- "bles, of confuſion, and of diſorder, that "a new form of Government, of which the "foundations are not all laid, that a new "ſyſtem of Adminiſtration and Police, ſtill "incomplete, can be eſtabliſhed with ſuc- "ceſs. If this partial mixture of the old "and new ſyſtem were puſhed farther, it "would inevitably lead to the deſtruction of "the State, becauſe, in ſpite of your efforts "and mine, the calamities and outrages that "rend this Kingdom daily increaſe and "become enormous. Conſider then whether "it be not more advantageous to wait the "end of your labours on the Conſtitution in "all its parts, before you put it to the deci- "ſive proof of execution; whether the

" ſafety of France does not make it neceſ-
" ſary for you to maintain in full force the
" old laws and the power requiſite to have
" them executed, till the time when the new
" laws, matured by reflection, and form-
" ing a whole wiſely combined, might be
" eſtabliſhed at once, without leaving the
" leaſt interval to anarchy. Let this im-
" portant queſtion be the immediate ſubject
" of your deliberation; you have not a
" moment to loſe in deciding, for the ſal-
" vation of the Monarchy depends up-
" on it."

If a requeſt ſo reaſonable had been concerted, as it might and ſhould have been, with ſome of the principal members of the Aſſembly, there is no doubt it would have been the grounds of a Decree, at the concluſion of the famous Sitting of the 4th of February; a Decree that would neceſſarily have included the abolition of all Clubs, and the ſuppreſſion of all the National Guard, or at leaſt thoſe of provincial towns. The licentiouſneſs of the preſs would have been reſtrained. The juriſdictions of the Provoſt-Marſhal, and the Marechauſſée would have reſumed their duty, the troops of the line

their

their diſcipline, the Courts their buſineſs, the Municipalities their obedience, and, in a word, the old ſyſtem of powers and ſubordination would have reſtored tranquillity, and diſpelled the Revolutionary fanaticiſm. That moment of reſpite and of calm might have ſecured a preference to reaſonable ideas over wild ones. The Nation, made wiſe by eight months dreadful experience, might have been induced to deſire only reforms as ſalutary as eaſy, inſtead of a Revolution already marked by ſo many diſaſters, and of which the termination was enveloped in as much darkneſs as the conſequences. The Aſſembly itſelf might have been forced by the public opinion to recede.

Such are the precious fruits that the King might have gathered from the enthuſiaſm which his conduct excited, had the Miniſters who adviſed it attended more to the effects of it. As the King was reduced to the ſad reſource of courting popularity for the purpoſe of recovering ſome fragments of his power, the uſe that was to be made of ſuch means ſhould at leaſt have been underſtood before it was reſorted to; and there could not be a more uſeful leſſon

on

on that head than the example of the *Mirabeaus*, *Barnaves*, *Chapeliers*, &c. whoſe popular declamations were always followed by an important motion, for which they enſured ſucceſs. Such motions made the next day, unaccompanied with the patriotic preamble, which might be called their *paſſport*, would have been rejected. It required no more than one day to efface the impreſſion that had been made by the King's Speech.

In the Sitting of the next day the Aſſembly applauded indeed the replies of their Majeſties to the Addreſſes of the Deputation, but they applauded mechanically, without emotion, and becauſe they had applauded the day before; there was no longer any thing of the heart in it; yet *M. Malouet* was deceived by it: "I partake," ſaid he, "the ſatisfaction felt by the Aſſembly "at the account they have juſt received; "but I think that the Sitting of yeſterday "ſhould not be left without any other "trace than that of barren applauſe. The "King's conduct was the reſult of impor- "tant motives, and it ought to be attended "with important effects; I therefore move,

"that

" that the King's Speech be now read, and " that this Sitting be devoted to the conſi- " deration of the principal ſubjects men- " tioned by his Majeſty."

To order! To the Conſtitution! reſounded from every part of the Hall. In vain did he urge " that their Conſtituents in the Pro- " vinces, when they ſhould hear of the in- " tereſting ſcene that had ſo greatly affected " the Aſſembly, and ſhould read the King's " Speech, would be at a loſs to conceive " how they could have attended in prefer- " ence to any other ſubject." He was anſwered, that it was concurring in the King's views to accelerate the diviſion of the Kingdom; and in fact the Aſſembly immediately reſumed the diſcuſſion relative to the diviſion of the Departments into Diſtricts, having firſt voted thanks to the Preſident for the Speech he had addreſſed to the King, at the head of the Deputation.

That Speech, ſincere when it was ſpoken, but ſince ſo cruelly contradicted by the conduct of the Aſſembly, is rendered by the King's melancholy fate an eſſential part of his Majeſty's hiſtory, and is as follows:

" Sire,

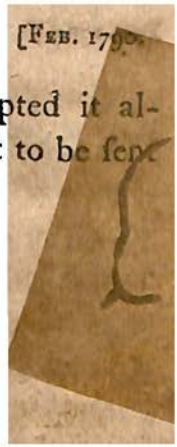
" Sire, we come to offer to your Majeſ-
" ty the firſt fruits of your patriotiſm and
" virtues, the oblivion of all diſſenſions,
" the harmony of will, and the union of
" private with public intereſt. The happy
" effects of your Majeſty's preſence in the
" National Aſſembly were, that the Repre-
" ſentatives of the French People took a
" ſolemn oath to be faithful to the Nation,
" the Law, the King, and the Conſtitu-
" tion, and the crowd of citizens who were
" preſent demanded to be aſſociated in this
" auguſt and holy covenant. Why was the
" humane, juſt, and ſenſible heart of your
" Majeſty deprived of the affecting ſight?
" As we are the interpreters of the Nation's
" wiſhes, ſo ought we to be of its grati-
" tude. Deign, Sire, to accept the tribute
" of it with kindneſs: the love and confi-
" dence of their people are the real treaſures
" of good Kings. Enjoy theſe, Sire, and
" may the homage of your co-tempo-
" raries be an earneſt to you of the bleſ-
" ſings your memory will receive from poſ-
" terity!"

The ſame ſentiments were expreſſed to the King in addreſſes from all the Municipalities

palities of the Kingdom. The Capital added a *Te Deum* and an illumination, and the Aſſembly voted an Addreſs to the People, urging them to tranquillity.—They thought, no doubt, that that was enough to fulfil the intentions and deſires of his Majeſty.

That Addreſs, drawn up by the Biſhop of *Autun*, was read in the Sitting of the 10th of February, and was a maſter-piece of deceit and cunning. The author, under pretence of reſtoring tranquillity in reviving confidence, drew a moſt artful picture of the conduct and motives of the Aſſembly, of their labours, paſt, preſent, and to come, repreſenting them all as equally worthy of admiration and of gratitude: in ſhort, he ſeems to have had it much leſs at heart to ſecond the King's paternal views than to counterbalance in favour of the National Aſſembly the increaſe of popularity which his Majeſty had acquired in the Sitting of the 4th of February. The Aſſembly, agreeably ſurpriſed at having done ſo many fine things they did not ſuſpect themſelves of, admired their work and its eulogium, applauded with tranſport the Addreſs, or rather

ther the deceitful panegyric, adopted it almoſt unanimouſly, and ordered it to be ſent into the Provinces *.



* See Appendix, No. vii.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXII.

Orders forged in the King's Name—Forged Decrees circulated in the Provinces—Inſurrections—Proviſional Law on that Subject—Its Defects—Injuſtice and Inconſiſtency in the Suppreſſion of the Feudal Rights—A Plan for the new Organization of the Army propoſed by Alexander Lameth—The Judges at the Chatelet acquit M. de Buzenval, M. de Barentin, and others, of the Charges preferred againſt them—The Miniſters abuſed on account of the new Penſions granted by the King—Decree—Diſtreſs of the People—Memorial on the Finances by Mr. Necker—Another Memorial by that Miniſter on the Formation of a Treaſury

Treaſury Office—Oppoſed by the Committee of Finances—Aſſignats.—The Property of the Clergy ſet up to Sale—Offers of the Municipality of Paris—Compenſation for the Gabelle—Suppreſſion of the India Company—Lettres de Cachet aboliſhed—Report on the Compenſation for Tithes and all Eccleſiaſtical Property, and on the future Proviſion for the Miniſters of Religion—A Motion for decreeing the Catholic Religion to be the Religion of the State—Rejected—Popular Commotions — Several Eccleſiaſtics inſulted — The Guard of the Aſſembly doubled—M. de la Fayette repairs to the Hall.

THE pleaſing emotions of joy and of hope experienced by the Pariſians, in conſequence of the King's Speech, and of the circumſtances that took place in the Sitting of the 4th of February, were rapidly circulated by the public papers throughout the Kingdom: but there was no alteration in the plan of the Factious, whoſe emiſſaries continued to overrun the Provinces, to arm the brigands, and conſtantly excite them to murder, pillage, and burning of houſes, by

ſhowing

ſhowing them ſometimes forged orders of the King, and at others forged decrees.—The Aſſembly every day learned details of ſome new outrage, and yet every day their popular orators affected wonder at *the little blood* ſo fine a Revolution had coſt.

At Beziers, the Cuſtom-houſe Officers appointed to collect the duties, having taken ſome people at the gates of the town, who were ſmuggling ſalt, had fled to the *Hotel-de-Ville* to eſcape the fury of the populace, who were armed. The Municipal Officers having refuſed to call in the military, as they ought to have done, according to the decrees, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment quartered in that town, of his own accord, and without being authoriſed by the Municipality, made the greateſt efforts to reſtrain the brigands, and to engage a Municipal Officer at leaſt to paſs the night at the *Hotel-de-Ville;* but his repreſentations were in vain. The doors were forced; the unfortunate Officers of the Cuſtom-houſe were mutilated in the moſt horrible manner, and five of them were hanged.

The Miniſtry ſent a Memorial to the Aſſembly to inform them of this fact, as well

as of diſorders that were perpetually breaking out in ſeveral Provinces, the continuance of which deeply afflicted the King: they urged them in the ſtrongeſt manner, on the part of his Majeſty, to proceed without delay on the means moſt proper to put an end to ſo many calamities, and to reconcile civil with individual liberty, with the ſafety of perſons and property, and with the general ſupport of public order.

This Memorial deſerved and obtained all the attention of the Aſſembly, and was for ſeveral days the ſubject of their deliberations. They were obliged to acknowledge the inſufficiency of the meaſures which they had hitherto adopted for re-eſtabliſhing order and enſuring its ſtability. The Municipal Officers appointed to proclaim martial law refuſed to do it, ſometimes through fear, and ſometimes through diſinclination. Only ſuch decrees were enforced as flattered the ambition or deſires of the multitude.—Proclamations and the moſt eloquent Addreſſes were without effect: frequently there wants but a phraſe to miſlead the people and excite them to inſurrection—a word to their paſſions is enough; it is not ſo with their reaſon, for it is ſeldom in the power

of

of the fineſt language to lead them back to obedience. Forty-eight thouſand Municipalities organized ſince the new Conſtitution, formed as many little Republics independent of one another, and without any real dependence upon a ſuperior central authority. The organization of the 83 Departments and of the 535 Diſtricts was now to complete the annihilation of the elements of the old Government, and to ſubſtitute a complicated machine of wheel-work, the force of which infinitely ſurpaſſed that of the chief ſpring on which the regulation of its motions was to depend.

Such were the powerful conſiderations on which thoſe members of the Aſſembly acted, who propoſed, as the only means of reſtoring order, to inveſt the King with the dictatorial authority for a limited time, or at leaſt to renovate the Executive Power immediately, and to organize it on its real baſis, the Royal authority. *Mirabeau* and his adherents oppoſed both theſe motions with all their force. The very word *Dictatorſhip* made them ſhudder. As to the organization of the Executive Power, that was, they ſaid, the end of the whole Conſtitution, and ſhould neceſſarily be the laſt reſult of it;

the remedy againſt inſurrections was therefore to be ſought in the decrees already paſſed, and particularly in martial law; and to enſure the execution of that law, it would ſuffice to ſettle in what manner the Municipal Officers appointed to proclaim it, ſhould be reſponſible. Others were for proceeding in the firſt place to ſatisfy the people, by ſuppreſſing the feudal rights by a Decree that ſhould ſhow them which were to be redeemed, and which were aboliſhed without indemnity. The majority, however, were of opinion, that the diſcuſſion of the proviſional law relative to the inſurrections ſhould be firſt attended to, and it was decreed on the 23d of February.

This law was more adapted to encourage than prevent inſurrections: it made no mention of the King further than to entreat that he would order his Speech, the laſt Proclamation of the Aſſembly, and all the Decrees, to be ſent without delay to all the Municipalities. It enjoined the Municipal Officers to uſe all the means which the confidence they enjoyed gave them, for the effectual protection of perſons and property, and to proclaim martial law in caſe of ſeditious riots. Laſtly, it declared that, when any injury

injury ſhould be committed by a riot, the Commune ſhould be reſponſible for it, *if application had been made to them, and if they could have prevented it*, except redreſs could be had againſt the authors of the riot, and that the reſponſibility ſhould be determined by the Courts of the place, on the application of the Directory of the Diſtrict.

By not fixing either the form in which thoſe applications were to be made, or the caſes in which the Communes applied to ſhould be judged to have been able to prevent the rioters from committing an injury, the Aſſembly clearly indicated to the Communes two means of eluding reſponſibility, which they employed ſo ſucceſsfully, that although inſurrections and plundering were not diſcontinued, it never appeared, at leaſt to me, either by the medium of the public papers or other information, that any one perſon whoſe property had been pillaged or burnt had been indemnified.

In clearer and more poſitive terms were the different decrees drawn up which annihilated the feudal ſyſtem, and all the honorary diſtinctions enjoyed by the Lords of Manors: they aboliſhed all the feudal rights

without exception, and without indemnity as to thoſe to which the Lords could not eſtabliſh a title by a grant of the land. Thoſe only which owed their origin to grants of lands were declared redeemable, and to be maintained till redemption. It would have been more popular, and much more ſimple, to have ſuppreſſed theſe too without indemnity; and eventually the Lords would ſcarcely have loſt any thing by it, not only on account of the lowneſs of the ſum for the redemption, but becauſe, low as it was, they could not demand it without expoſing their property to pillage and fire, and their perſons to aſſaſſination: conſequently the rights declared redeemable have been no more redeemed than thoſe ſuppreſſed without indemnity, although the payment of both one and the other ceaſed at the ſame time; and when *Robeſpierre* cauſed the decree of the 17th of July 1793 to be paſſed, ſuppreſſing all feudal rights whatever without indemnity, he did nothing more than ſanction the mode of executing the decrees of the firſt Aſſembly.

On that Aſſembly therefore it is that all the cenſure and blame which ſuch a robbery merits ſhould fall: they incited it by the

the

the moſt unjuſt decrees, and then they either could not or would not put an end to it.—The abolition of the feudal rights, even could their redemption have been effected, would ſtill have been a ſhocking injuſtice; for no power, no legitimate authority, had a right to ordain it. The pillaged Lords may ever argue in the following manner: "It "pleaſed our anceſtors to invite families of "farmers to their domains, and to ſettle "them there through kindneſs, giving up "a part of their property to them, on con-"dition of ſome perſonal ſervices, and a "rent twenty times leſs than the produce of "the ſoil granted; and now you are for "conſidering thoſe acts of kindneſs as acts "of tyranny and luſt of gain, and thoſe "perſonal ſervices, of which the juſteſt "gratitude was the principle, as a degrad-"ing ſlavery! You are for proſcribing a "ſyſtem to which the inhabitants of the "country have been indebted from genera-"tion to generation for all their means of "exiſtence! for annulling contracts, the "juſtice and humanity of which have been "conſecrated by the experience of ſo many "ages; for, if our feudatories had found "them burdenſome, they would not have

" wanted your help to get rid of them;
" they would have made uſe of the power
" they always poſſeſſed of cancelling them
" by giving up our lands to us! What
" right have you to ſtrip us of them, or to
" compel us to ſell them according to the
" eſtimate of the low quit-rent to which
" they are ſubject? Our fathers would have
" left us a far richer inheritance, if they
" had leaſed thoſe very grounds which their
" humanity and generoſity induced them to
" grant out in fiefs. Do you mean that we
" ſhall ſuffer a penalty for their virtues?
" Unjuſt and unwiſe Legiſlators! You talk
" of comforting the People, yet you are
" urging and pronouncing the ſpoliation of
" thoſe who have conſtantly comforted
" them, and you are depriving the poor
" of the only means they had of attaining
" property *. Is beneficence then, like re-
" ligion,

* Upon the ſame principle farmers might have been authoriſed to redeem the property they rented. Their ſituation was much more to be pitied than that of feudatories, for the conditions in the leaſe of a farm were far more burdenſome than thoſe of the feudal grants; the Aſſembly were therefore inconſiſtent in not paſſing a decree in their favour. It is true that the Convention amply

"ligion, a ſentiment whoſe energy is to "be increaſed by perſecution and chaſtiſe-"ment?"

The diſcuſſion relative to the feudal rights was interrupted by different reports on the finances, on the troubles in the Colonies, and the organization of the army.—*Alexander Lameth* being charged with the laſt, preſented a plan, which ſome young Colonels on the liſt of his friends, and who were alſo Deputies, thought admirable; and the Aſſembly, truſting to their profound knowledge, declared the King Generaliſſimo of the army, and the citizens of every claſs admiſſible to all ranks and degrees. They augmented the ſoldiers' pay about three-half-pence a day, and that of the Officers proportionably, the difference of arms and ranks obſerved; and they ordered that the army ſhould take the civic oath annually on

amply repaired that inconſiſtency, by empowering farmers to pay for their farms in aſſignats at their nominal value, when they were depreciated eighty and ninety per cent. This is not the only occaſion on which the Convention ſeems to have better underſtood than the pretended Legiſlative Aſſembly, the real ſpirit of the principles which had been created by the pretended Conſtituent Aſſembly.

the

the 14th of July. The commemoration of *the great events* which had ſignalized the ſame day in the preceding year, being an infallible means of conſecrating and perpetuating through the army the remembrance of a rebellion of the deepeſt dye againſt the King's authority, was thought as ingenious as patriotic, and conſequently loudly applauded.

The Abbé *Maury*, far from admiring this plan, ſtrongly oppoſed the leading articles of it. He maintained, that to declare the King Generaliſſimo of the army was but to make him a General of it; and that, as the Aſſembly had already decreed that the ſupreme Executive Power reſided in the hands of the King, to be conſiſtent it ſhould be declared, *that the army of France was ſolely and entirely at the command of his Majeſty.* The word *Sovereign* having in the courſe of the debate unintentionally eſcaped him in the place of the word *King*, the conſtitutional ear of *Alexander de Lameth* was exceedingly offended at it. "There are "Nations," cried he, "who can believe "that they have Sovereigns, but the French "have none: they have a King, and I con-"feſs, it was not without aſtoniſhment that I

"obſerved

" obſerved the Member who ſpoke laſt " completely forgetting the firſt principle " we acknowledged and conſecrated in the " moſt ſolemn manner, that the ſovereignty " reſided in the People."

The Judges of the Chatelet, having purchaſed popularity enough on the 18th of February by the condemnation of the Marquis *de Favras*, to venture without danger to abſolve ſome innocent men, acquitted *M. de Buzenval*, *M. Barentin*, *M. d'Autichamp*, *M. de Puyſegur*, and Marſhal *Broglio*. This judgment excited ſome popular murmurs, but happily no inſurrection. It was obſerved, that the project of raiſing an army of 30,000 men having conducted the Marquis *de Favras* to the gallows, the Chatelet ought at leaſt to have puniſhed Marſhal *Broglio* as ſeverely, as in the month of July preceding he had really been at the head of that formidable army of 30,000 men, encamped in the environs of Paris and Verſailles. But according to the ſuſpicious juriſprudence of Revolutions, men are always thought leſs criminal for what they have done, than for what they are ſuppoſed inclined to do: a paſt action occaſions no more uneaſineſs, and its heinouſneſs is leſt

left to be determined by the Courts of Juſtice; but a project, however chimerical, always alarms or irritates the faction againſt which it is directed, and then it is either fear or anger that judges, and they are equally ſevere.

The reduction of the penſions and annual bounties granted by the Court, and the inquiry into the abuſes which might have crept into the diſtribution of them, were at this period an object of public attention, and furniſhed ample matter to the declamations of the factious and the calumnies of the journaliſts. The moſt outrageous epithets were laviſhed on whoever had a ſhare in thoſe favours; they were depicted as the locuſts of the State, as the leeches of the Nation: but it was particularly againſt the unknown penſioners, who were inſcribed on the ſecret regiſter called the *Red Book*, that the declaimers inveighed moſt bitterly. *Camus* the Deputy, Reporter to the Committee charged with the conſideration of this ſubject, had obtained a decree to be paſſed, ordaining that the payment of the penſions ſhould be deferred till the Aſſembly were made acquainted with the reaſons for which they were granted, and had decided upon their

their legality. As this decree did not deprive the King of the power of giving new ones, *M. de St. Prieſt* had thought he might diſpenſe with applying for the orders of *Camus*, in diſpatching thoſe which his Majeſty had thought it juſt to grant to ſome Officers who had been employed at the Baſtille; but he made it known to the Committee, and informed them of the reaſons that had induced the King to grant thoſe new bounties. *Camus*, tranſported with rage, denounced this circumſtance to the Aſſembly as an enormity which muſt make them ſhudder. He complained very bitterly of the repugnance ſhown by the Miniſters as to the communication of the *Red Book*, often applied for by the Committee, and as often promiſed in vain.

On this Report the Aſſembly decreed on the 5th of March, that no new penſion could be granted without their expreſs authority; and that the Preſident ſhould wait upon the King, to entreat him to forbid all his Miniſters, and other agents of his authority, to preſent new orders or creations of penſions to him; and to enjoin them to deliver to the different Committees of the Aſſembly, upon their firſt application, the

vouchers that ſhall be required of them, and particularly the *Red Book*.

The public diſtreſs ſeemed to increaſe in proportion to the fetters placed on the King's authority and beneficence. The Aſſembly were informed that the city of Paris alone contained a hundred and forty thouſand poor; and *M. Freteau*, commiſſioned to inquire into this calculation, atteſted in the Sitting of the 5th of March, that their number amounted to ten thouſand in two Diſtricts, the ſtatements of which had been communicated to him by the reſpective Preſidents.

The Royal treaſury was alſo daily ſinking to a very alarming ebb. Mr. *Necker*, deceived in all his calculations and all his hopes, found his health as well as his credit declining; but his pen had not yet loſt any of its fertility. On the 6th of March he ſent in a Memorial to the Preſident, which on account of the ſtate of his health was much too long for him to read to the Aſſembly himſelf. He obſerved, that this Memorial referred to the 20th of February, and requeſted indulgence for the work, *which his ſituation had not permitted him to retouch.*

The

The Miniſter ſhowed in this Memorial, that the delays and difficulties attending the payment of the duties and impoſts, the ſupplying of the deficiency in the returns on the Gabelle, the reſtoring the balance between the revenues and expences, and the renewal of anticipations in the year 1790, had produced, between the 1ſt of January and the 20th of February, a *deficit* of forty-four millions; that the extraordinary expences, of which the greater part related to the providing of corn, would amount during the ſame period to ſeventeen millions—the total deficiency therefore was fifty-eight millions for fifty-one days; and he calculated that which would reſult from the ſame cauſes in the courſe of the ſubſequent ten months of the year at two hundred and ninety-four millions. "On viewing," ſaid he, "the neceſſities of the public treaſury, you muſt either ſink under the weight of the difficulties, which certainly you will not do; or adopt an expeditious and general remedy, ſuch as iſſuing an exceſſive number of State bills, or fall upon a plan of agreement, arrangement, and abatement, which in default of all other extraordinary reſources may bring

" us, without too great a confuſion, to a pe-
" riod of perfect re-eſtabliſhment of order
" in the finances."

On the latter hypotheſis, the following is the manner in which he pointed out each article of reſource applicable to the ten ſubſequent months of that year:

	Livres.
1ſt. Money in bank on the 1ſt of March - -	10,000,000
2d. Balance on the eighty millions to be received from the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*	28,000,000
3d. Reduction of expences in the ten months -	30,000,000
4th. The twentieths of the Clergy - -	9,000,000
5th. Renewal of the anticipations - -	60,000,000
6th. Prompt payment on the collections made by the Receivers-General -	15,000,000
7th. Gifts and patriotic contributions - -	30,000,000
8th. Loan to be made in the courſe of the year -	30,000,000
Liv.	212,000,000

	Livres.
Brought over - -	212,000,000
9th. Delaying to increaſe the funds appropriated to the annuities, and by poſtponing to the end of the year, on an amicable compoſition, the payment of the dividends on ſeveral objects - -	50,000,000
10th. Delays, or payments in bills at a date to run, for different expences -	30,000,000
Total	Liv. 292,000,000

Mr. *Necker* then diſcuſſed the advantages and diſadvantages of the converſion of Aſſignats into paper-money. "Such notes," ſaid he, "the purport of which would inceſſantly bring to mind the reality of "their object and their term, would in this "point of view have an advantage over "the notes of the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*, of "which the mortgage on the extraordinary "funds is neither directly nor habitually preſent to the mind; they would alſo recall, "in a more conſtant and general manner, "the intereſt which the citizens have in

" the prompt and advantageous realiſing of " the property deſigned for the redemption " of the bills admitted as money into circu- " lation; and many happy conſequences " would reſult from the evidence of that " intereſt: nor would the new notes par- " take in the diſcountenance which the ene- " mies of the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte* had brought " upon that eſtabliſhment;—though indeed, " on the other hand, they would not enjoy " that portion of credit that depends on " habit, the influence of which cannot " be thoroughly eſtimated. But a more " important conſideration is, that the ex- " tinction of the Aſſignat paper-money by " the extraordinary bank, would neceſſarily " be ſlower than that of the *Caiſſe d'Eſ-* " *compte* notes, inaſmuch as the former " could not operate till ſuch time as the " produce of the annuities or redemptions " ſhould be really thrown into the extraor- " dinary bank; whereas the gradual extinc- " tion of the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte* notes would " take place from the moment it negotiated " aſſignments, at a fixed date, on the Re- " ceiver of the extraordinary funds."

To theſe diſadvantages was added that of iſſuing any kind of paper-money whatever,

in

in ſuch quantity as to ſatisfy all the wants of the public treaſury. Mr. *Necker* did not conceal this danger, but repreſented that a ſum of two or three hundred millions of paper-money, joined to that of one hundred and ſixty millions, the preſent amount of the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte* notes, formed an alarming total. "It is," added he, "more incum-"bent than ever to go on in every thing "gradually, to keep always cloſe to opi-"nions and events, to employ daily circum-"ſpection, to oppoſe every difficulty ſepa-"rately, to enter as it were into a compo-"ſition with all obſtacles, and to uſe pa-"tiently a great variety of means. You "muſt have ſeen, by thoſe which I have "pointed out, that ſuch a plan, neceſſarily a "mixed one, will for ſome months longer "render the adminiſtration of the finances "infinitely complicated—in ſhort, that it "will be requiſite to leave it a degree of "liberty which you will perhaps be uneaſy "to ſee placed in the hands of a ſingle per-"ſon. But he who from the month of "Auguſt 1788 has ſtruggled with ſo "many obſtacles, and has endeavoured to "ſteer the ſtorm-beaten veſſel into port, "wiſhes more than any other perſon to

" lighten his burden, and diminiſh his re-
" ſponſibility, not towards the King, not
" towards you, or the Nation, but towards
" a cenſor ſtill more rigid, towards himſelf.
" It doubtleſs requires great ardour to un-
" dertake ſuch a taſk, which I am aware
" will be replete with toil and anxiety; but
" that reflection cannot diſcourage me, be-
" cauſe my mind is ſtill wholly bent on the
" public concerns. In my eagerneſs to devote
" and ſacrifice myſelf, I could feel bold enough
" to anſwer alone for the whole extent of
" the taſk, if, in requiring aſſociates of you,
" I did not conſider a project the utility of
" which will be experienced at all times,
" and which will be ſtill more completely
" appropriated to the new conſtitutional
" order you are eſtabliſhing. This project
" ſhould conſiſt in a Committee to be inſti-
" tuted by the King, for the adminiſtration
" of the public money; a Committee who
" ſhould undertake what I am now under-
" taking; that is to ſay, that with the ap-
" probation and by the authority of his
" Majeſty they ſhould fix all the daily ex-
" pences, determine all the modes of pay-
" ment, inſpect all the receipts, and in ſhort

" direct

" direct the whole buſineſs of the treaſury
" without any exception or reſerve: and
" the Commiſſioners of the treaſury ſhould
" in future be alone the King's Miniſters for
" that department. I do not mean, Gentle-
" men, to withdraw myſelf by the inſtitu-
" tion of which I am ſpeaking to you; it is
" not in ſtormy weather that I ſhall quit
" the veſſel. The King feels the advan-
" tage of chooſing from the Aſſembly moſt
" of the Members of this Committee: but
" for this purpoſe it will be neceſſary for
" you to depart in ſome meaſure from the
" decree you have paſſed, obliging the
" Members of your Aſſembly to accept no
" place under Government during the pre-
" ſent Seſſions. I ſhould think the princi-
" ple of that decree not applicable to the
" preſent caſe. On this occaſion, it is ra-
" ther a painful burden to be laid on thoſe
" whom the King ſhall appoint to the ac-
" tive and permanent Committee of the
" Treaſury, than a favour or benefit to be
" conferred on them. Of whatever import-
" ance general principles may be, there are,
" however, occaſions in which the Legiſ-
" lature, ſwayed by the welfare of the
" State, ſhould conſent to ſome modifica-

" tions. To the important conſiderations " which I have laid before you, I will add " one, to which you will attach what value " you pleaſe. The weak ſtate of my health " will oblige me, in the courſe of the ſum- " mer, to go and drink the waters; and I " cannot anſwer that I ſhall recover ſuffi- " cient ſtrength to devote myſelf again to " the labour and uneaſineſs which have " preyed ſo much upon me. You may " think it proper then to allow me time to " be uſeful by my experience, and while I " have ſtrength and zeal, to thoſe who are " perhaps one day to ſucceed me entirely in " the adminiſtration of the finances."

The ſurplus of the uſual expences over the fixed revenue, or the *deficit*, which was fifty-ſix millions at the opening of the Aſſembly, was increaſed twelve millions one hundred thouſand livres: namely, ten millions for the amount of intereſt and the redeeming funds appropriated to the loan of eighty millions opened in the month of Auguſt preceding, and two millions one hundred thouſand livres for paying off the annuities granted to the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*, in lieu of three millions five hundred thouſand livres, which was paid to it annually as intereſt

intereſt at five per cent. of the capital of ſeventy millions advanced to the Royal treaſury in 1787 by the ſtock-holders.

For this *deficit* of ſixty-eight millions of livres, Mr. *Necker* found nearly a balance in the following heads:

	Livres.
1ſt. The proceeds of ſubjecting the eccleſiaſtical property to the payment of the twentieths, and the diſcontinuance of the ſubſcriptions of the Princes and ſome other perſons relative to that tax -	9,000,000
2d. The ſaving of the ſum which the Royal treaſury paid annually to the Clergy's fund	2,500,000
3d. The annuities extinguiſhed in 1789 - -	1,500,000
4th. The ſavings or reductions on the expences, valued at	52,000,000
Total.	65,000,000

Mr. *Necker* concluded this Memorial with very circumſtantial obſervations on the

means of paying off the arrears of the Departments, amounting to one hundred and fifty or two hundred millions; on the different taxes; on a ſubſtitution for thoſe which ſhould be, or thoſe which were already ſuppreſſed; on the different expences which might be aſſeſſed on the provinces; and, in ſhort, on all the meaſures that could tend to reſtore the balance between the receipts and expences.

This Memorial, which was ſent to the Committee of Finances, was ſoon followed by another, in which Mr. *Necker* confined himſelf to combating the grounds on which it was ſaid the Aſſembly would deny their conſent to any of their Members being choſen for the Treaſury-office: but in ſpite of the ſentimental effuſions and all the compliments with which theſe two Memorials were ſeaſoned, the Committee of Finances rejected moſt of the means propoſed by Mr. *Necker*, and adopted that which he deprecated—I mean the converſion of Aſſignats into paper-money. They propoſed to iſſue four hundred millions of them, bearing an intereſt of five per cent. as well for the purpoſe of meeting the extraordinary expences, as for paying off the

one

one hundred and ſixty millions to the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte;* and to appropriate to the payment of the Aſſignats the price of the eſtates of the Clergy and of the domains, four hundred millions worth of which ſhould be immediately put up to ſale. The Marquis *de Monteſquiou*, the Reporter of the Committee, maintained, that the Miniſter was miſtaken in his calculations; that he had exaggerated the neceſſities and under-rated the reſources *; that the admiſſion of the Members of the Aſſembly to the office or Committee of the Treaſury, was irreconcilable with the important decree, the principle of which was to place an inſurmountable bar between the centre of power and the centre of the law; that the choice made by the Court would always be induced by intrigue; and beſides, the reſponſibility of the Miniſters would ceaſe to be entire if it were participated by the Members of the Aſſembly.

It was certainly very eaſy to accelerate the frightful emiſſion of four hundred millions of Aſſignats, but not ſo eaſy to promote the ſale of the eſtates by which their payment

* Mr. *Necker* a few days after publiſhed a long Memorial refuting this aſſertion.

was

was to be ſecured. In times of tranquillity, of confidence, and proſperity, the moſt legal ſale of ſo conſiderable a maſs of property would in France have required years to be effected; but in times of trouble, penury, and general diſorganization, the idea of finding a ſufficient number of moneyed men ſo imprudently avaricious, ſo ſhameleſſly diſhoneſt, as to riſk their funds in purchaſes radically bad, and thus to render themſelves accomplices in the moſt unjuſt and ſcandalous plunder, muſt be regarded as the moſt chimerical of fancies. What right, in fact, had this Aſſembly to make over to the Nation, or cauſe to be ſold, any property whatever without the conſent, without the expreſs authority of the proprietors? And what property was there in France that reſted on ſo ancient a poſſeſſion as that of the Clergy, or on titles more authentic and reſpectable?

The National Aſſembly, ſuppoſing it legally inveſted with the plenitude of legiſlative power, might no doubt have declared that ſuch eſtates as the Clergy ſhould acquire in future ſhould be at the diſpoſal of the Nation; but it was evidently out of their power to extend ſuch a decree to eſtates

tates in poſſeſſion for many ages under the protection of all the exiſting laws. It was violating and totally overturning legiſlation, and the protecting principles of all property, to enact ſo monſtrous a law, which could only be ſuitable to a nation compoſed of robbers, to whom all they could forcibly lay hold of belonged, by the ſame right that the purſe of the traveller belongs to highwaymen. When *Robeſpierre* guillotined the rich land-holders to aſſign their eſtates to the diſpoſal of the Nation, he did no more than draw a very accurate deduction from the principle that had been eſtabliſhed by the firſt Aſſembly relative to the Clergy. But allowing that this decree were as juſt as it was atrocious, and even conſidering the eſtates of the Clergy to have been really and legally the property of the Nation, it certainly did not follow that the Aſſembly could lawfully ſell the ſmalleſt part of them without being ſpecially authoriſed to do it by the moſt formal inſtructions from their Conſtituents. Now, far from the Nation's having given ſuch powers to their Repreſentatives, the electors had unanimouſly expreſſed in all their inſtructions the moſt explicit wiſh that the ſecurity of property ſhould

ſhould be reſpected; and at the time of the union of the Orders, that of the *Tiers-Etat* had ſolemnly promiſed to be conſtant to that wiſh: of courſe, ideas of the invalidity of ſuch titles roſe every where againſt the ſale of the eſtates of the Clergy, and a general perſuaſion prevailed that there would be no purchaſers, when the Municipality of Paris haſtened to remove all difficulty on the occaſion. Four days after the Report of the Committee of Finances, and previous to any Decree upon it, they ſent an Addreſs to the Aſſembly, in which they offered themſelves as agents between the Nation and the moneyed men; and deſired to purchaſe eſtates of the Clergy to the amount of two hundred millions, according to a valuation to be made of them. They offered in payment one hundred and fifty millions, payable in fifteen inſtalments of ten millions each every year, ſo that the whole would be paid in fifteen years, and bearing an intereſt of four per cent. They aſked for their trouble and the uſe of their credit the fourth of the produce of the ſale of the eſtates which would remain in their hands, after having diſpoſed of a ſufficient quantity to raiſe one hundred and fifty millions. They announced, that as ſoon as theſe preliminaries were ſettled

tled they would attend to bidders on the price of the valuation to be made, and that they had already received conſiderable overtures.

Theſe means, as fallacious as they were apparently expeditious for accompliſhing the ſale of a large portion of the property declared to be National, had moreover the merit of beginning the actual ſpoliation of the Clergy; and the Aſſembly therefore did not heſitate to adopt them. They decreed, after a debate of two days, "That the Demeſnes "and Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates, the ſale of "which they had ordained on the 19th of "December laſt, to the amount of four "hundred millions, ſhould be immediately "diſpoſed of to the Municipality of Paris, "and to ſuch other Municipalities of the "Kingdom as it might ſuit to purchaſe "them: that for this purpoſe the Aſſembly "ſhould appoint twelve of their own Mem-"bers Commiſſioners to ſettle peremptorily "with thoſe who ſhould be elected by the "Municipality of Paris for the purpoſe of "chooſing and valuing the eſtates to be ſold to "them, to the amount of two hundred mil-"lions, at the prices, charges, and on the con-"ditions which ſhould be finally arranged; "and moreover, at the charge of the Muni-

"cipality

" cipality of Paris, to make over to the " other Municipalities, at the ſame prices " and on the ſame conditions, ſuch por- " tions of the aforeſaid eſtates as might ſuit " them: and laſtly, that notwithſtanding " the term of fifteen years demanded by the " Municipality, the Commiſſioners of the " Aſſembly ſhould exert themſelves to pro- " cure the ſpeedieſt payments poſſible, and " a general liquidation; and that for this " purpoſe the Municipalities ſhould be " bound to put the ſaid eſtates up to ſale " without the leaſt delay, and to ſell them " as ſoon as ever a purchaſer ſhould bid " for the ſaid eſtates the price fixed by the " valuation of the ſurveyors."

The Abbé *de Monteſquiou* urged in vain the juſteſt objections againſt this Decree: " You have already decreed," ſaid he, " that " no ſale of the eſtates of the Clergy ſhould " be made, except upon the plan of the De- " partments: wait then for that plan; the " demand of a Commune cannot take place " of it. It is of much more importance to " begin by a definitive Decree reſpecting " the tithes: you have decreed their ſup- " preſſion with a compenſation; the ſup- " preſſion has already taken place, although

" you

" you have as yet decided nothing as to " their compenſation. If you give them " up to the landlords, and make over the re- " mainder of our property to bankers and " ſtock-jobbers, what is to become of Reli- " gion and its miniſters, of the poor, and " the creditors of the Clergy?" Theſe repreſentations were ſcarcely attended to, and the Decree was paſſed juſt as I have reported it.

It was entirely then the intervention of the Municipality of Paris that enſured credit to the Aſſignats, and brought on the immediate ſpoliation of the Clergy; for the Decree which completed it, was paſſed a month after that by which this firſt ſale was directed.

In the intervening time the Aſſembly determined upon a ſubſtitution for the Gabelle, and in its place laid a general tax, to be aſſeſſed after a certain rate, on the already exiſting taxes. They ſuppreſſed the India Company, and declared the commerce beyond the Cape of Good Hope free to all Frenchmen. They alſo decreed the abolition of *Lettres de Cachet*, and ordered, that all who were detained in priſon, by virtue of warrants from any Agents whatever of the Govern-

Government, ſhould be ſet at liberty in ſix weeks at fartheſt. "If any thing can affect us," cried *Robeſpierre* pathetically, "we muſt regret having ſat ſix months "without having yet pronounced the liberty of thoſe unfortunate victims of arbitrary power—it is better to pardon a "hundred guilty perſons than that one innocent man ſhould ſuffer." As the principles cited in ſupport of this Decree applied equally to all arbitrary arreſts and detentions, *M. d'Epreſmenil* moved to ſet all thoſe at liberty who had been deprived of it by warrants from the Permanent Committees, and Committees of Inquiry; but the motion was too anti-revolutionary to be adopted, and was ſcouted. The unlimited power of impriſoning at will was a valuable means, which nothing could replace, of ſupporting or awakening opportunely the alarms of the people on the pretended plots of the Ariſtocrats.

The firſt Sittings of the month of April were ſpent in long ſpeeches and debates on the new organization of the judicial power: the courts, magiſtrates, laws, forms and in ſhort, every thing was to be changed; and the having been a part of the old ſyſtem was

in itſelf ſufficient grounds for rejecting the wiſeſt inſtitutions. The Clergy had to ſtruggle not only againſt this phrenſy of innovations, but againſt the jealouſy and covetouſneſs excited by their riches. The Committee appointed to conſider of the means of a compenſation for tithes was compoſed of members taken from the Eccleſiaſtical Committee, and from thoſe of Agriculture, Finance, and Taxation. They united all their plans relative to the Clergy, and formed from them one general project, of which a Report was made to the Aſſembly in the Sitting of the 9th of April. It comprehended not only the compenſation for tithes, but alſo for all eccleſiaſtical property, the new organization for the future, and the ſupport of the preſent Clergy. The number of Archbiſhops or Biſhops was reduced in it to eighty-three; that is, to one for each Department. The ſtipend of the Archbiſhop of *Paris* was to be ſettled at 50,000 livres; that of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops in towns where the inhabitants amounted to above one hundred thouſand ſouls, at 25,000 livres; above fifty thouſand ſouls, at 15,000 livres, and all under that number at 10,000

livres. With reſpect to pariſh prieſts, their ſtipends were fixed at 2000 livres in pariſhes containing above two thouſand ſouls; at 1500 livres in thoſe that contained above one thouſand ſouls; and in thoſe under one thouſand ſouls at 1200 livres. The general ſtipend for curates was fixed at 700 livres, beſides a parſonage-houſe, which was to be provided for them as well as for the pariſh prieſts. Theſe diſpoſitions were relative to the future Clergy. As to the preſent incumbents, the Committee propoſed to leave the Archbiſhop of *Paris* 100,000 livres; the Biſhops who had more than 15,000 livres, and the pariſh prieſts who had more than 1200 livres, the half of what they enjoyed, in addition to theſe ſums. In a word, the total expence of divine worſhip, including the ſtipends of its miniſters to the number of forty-eight thouſand, the penſions of the friars and nuns, the neceſſary ſuccours for the hoſpitals, colleges, ſeminaries, &c. and the expences of erecting and repairing buildings, was fixed at 133,884,800 livres. The plan of the Committee was to add the raiſing of this ſum to the general contributions, at the ſame time ſuppreſſing tithes,

and placing in the hands of the Nation, under the adminiſtration of the Departments, Diſtricts, and Municipalities, the whole amount of eccleſiaſtical property, freed of all charges and mortgages by adding the debts of the Clergy to the general maſs of the debts of the State.

This plan was applauded with ecſtaſy by the Factious, whoſe views it anſwered; by the ſtock-jobbers, whoſe ſpeculations it favoured; and by the plunderers of every claſs, to whom it promiſed an ample booty. This general ſpoliation, the atrocity of which the hypocriſy of the Philoſophers thought to palliate by calling it the *expropriation of the Clergy*, was ſaid to be the corner-ſtone of the Conſtitution, and to reſtore religion to its primitive purity, by confining the miniſter to his duties, who was often diverted from them by the trouble of his harveſt, his calculations and cares of a nature purely temporal.

The intereſts of religion and its miniſters were defended with as much dignity as eloquence and ſolidity by ſeveral Deputies of the Clergy, and particularly by the Biſhop of *Nanci* and the Archbiſhop of *Aix*. The latter, at the concluſion of his ſpeech, re-

newed, in the name of his Order, the ſolemn offer of a loan of 400 millions, to be decreed and levied by the National Aſſembly, ſecured by mortgage on the property of the Clergy, who ſhould pay the intereſt, and alſo the principal, by ſales gradually made according to the canon and civil forms.

This loan, which could very ſoon have been filled, would not have prevented the ſale of the portion of the domains of the Crown which was to be alienated, and thoſe two means together would have produced about 600 millions—a ſum infinitely above all the wants, both ordinary and extraordinary, of the public treaſury. But, however ſolid theſe reſources might be, the Aſſembly did not heſitate to reject them; they were not ſufficiently revolutionary.—At the ſame time, it is not leſs true, that the Clergy, in propoſing to add ſo conſiderable a ſacrifice to that which they had already made of all their privileges and pecuniary exemptions, conſulted their ability leſs than their zeal for the ſupport of Religion and the Monarchy. This generous offering, and the refuſal it met, will both deſcend to poſterity, the one a glory to the Clergy of France, the other the ſhame and

col.

condemnation of the majority of the Aſſembly. Never can the ſtain be waſhed out, of having, by this procedure, ſacrificed the ſafety of the State to the ſacrilegious hope, to the preconcerted plan of overturning the Altar as well as the Throne. Every ſpecies of hypocritical ſophiſtry and atrocious art was practiſed by thoſe pretended philoſophers, to get rid of the pious motion which was made in the ſame Sitting, " that a De-" cree ſhould be paſſed, importing that the " Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman religion " was and ſhould ever remain the religion " of the Nation, and that its form of wor-" ſhip ſhould be the only one authoriſed." The majority of the Nobility applauded this motion, and deſired it might be put to the vote. It was not leſs applauded by that large and pure portion of the members of the Clergy, who would have thought nothing of the ſacrifice of all their property, had this conſolatory Decree been the price of it.

" God forbid," ſaid *Charles de Lameth* for the *Coté-Gauche*, " that we ſhould oppoſe " a ſentiment that pervades every heart in " this Aſſembly! I will only obſerve, that

" this motion now propoſed to you can but
" ſerve to ſpread doubts reſpecting the reli-
" gious opinions of the Aſſembly. Have
" we not manifeſted them ſufficiently by
" taking morality and religion as the baſis
" of all our Decrees? Have we not founded
" the Conſtitution upon the brotherly love,
" the good-will towards men, the conſoling
" equality ſo much recommended by the
" Goſpel? The Aſſembly have, to uſe the
" words of Scripture, 'put down the
" mighty from their ſeat, and exalted the
" humble and meek;' they have taken un-
" der their protection the weak, and the
" people whoſe rights were not underſtood;
" they have, in ſhort, realiſed for the hap-
" pineſs of men thoſe words of JESUS
" CHRIST himſelf—'the firſt ſhall be laſt,
" and the laſt firſt:' they have realiſed them;
" for certainly they who held the firſt ranks
" in ſociety, and poſſeſſed the firſt offices,
" will poſſeſs them no more."

This evangelical pathos, imitated from the Tartuffe of *Moliere*, would not have prevented the motion from being adopted that day, had it been put to the vote; but more than thirty ſpeakers deſiring to be heard

heard beſieged the tribune, and as it was then half paſt five o'clock, the general and always powerful eagerneſs to go to dinner cauſed the debate to be adjourned to the next day.

The Factious employed the intervening time ſucceſsfully in ſetting to work their popular means of influencing the deciſion; and their Agents, exciting the animoſity of the populace againſt the members of the Order of the Clergy, marked them out for their threats and inſults under the name of *Calotins* *. It was imprudent for any one to appear at the Tuilleries or *Palais-Royal* in the eccleſiaſtical garb. This popular fermentation roſe to ſo alarming a height, as to determine the Municipality to double the guards next day at ſeveral poſts, and particularly that at the National Aſſembly. General *La Fayette*, whoſe military functions now hardly allowed him to fulfil thoſe of a legiſlator, thought it, however, incumbent upon him to repair that day to the Aſſembly, —whether it were to ſupport the opinion of his party, or to diſpel the alarms which the agitation and clamours of the people that ſurrounded the Hall were well calculated to

* *Calotte* is a part of the clerical dreſs.

excited. But the many queſtions that were put to him, proved very clearly that his preſence had not removed the apprehenſions of any perſon. "The Aſſembly are not free," cried *M. de Foucault* ſeveral times—"They "are not free," ſaid he, "becauſe we are "permitted only to propoſe amendments, "without aſſerting our opinion on the ne-"ceſſity of the profeſſion of genuine faith "in favour of the Catholic, Apoſtolic, and "Roman religion. Surrounded by the peo-"ple and ſoldiers under arms, we are not "free, becauſe an appearance of this nature "is only fit to ſpread terror, and fetter the "ſentiments of men. Why this crowd of "people?—Why theſe ſoldiers?" added he in the very terms *Mirabeau* uſed in the month of July preceding, in his motion for the removal of the troops. "I move "that it be immediately decreed, that in "future the meetings of the National Aſ-"ſembly ſhall be fixed at three leagues diſ-"tance from the quarters of the troops, or "that they may not approach nearer with-"out being expreſſly required by the Aſſem-"bly ſo to do."

Amidſt the murmurs created by this motion among the *Coté-Gauche*, *M. de la Fayette*

Fayette aſcended the tribune, and calmly replied, that in doubling the Citizen Guard, with which the Aſſembly had deigned to be attended, he had only obeyed the orders of *M. Bailly;* but that there was no danger to be apprehended, and he was happy to be able to ſay, that there was not a man of the National Guard who was not ready to ſhed the laſt drop of his blood in maintaining the execution of the Decrees of the Aſſembly, the freedom of its debates, and the inviolability of the perſons of all its members.

None of the ſpeakers in favour of acknowledging the Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman religion as the religion of the State could obtain any attention. Only the oppoſers of that motion were ſuffered to ſpeak, and the debate was cloſed as ſoon as they were heard. A motion from *M. de Menou*, and more emphatically drawn up by the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, having obtained the priority, was put to the vote and carried in theſe terms:

"The National Aſſembly, conſidering "that they neither have nor can have any "power over the conſciences or religious "opinions

" opinions of men; that the majeſty of " Religion, and the profound reſpect due " to it, ſhould prevent its becoming the " ſubject of a debate; conſidering that the " attachment of the National Aſſembly to " the Catholic, Apoſtolic, and Roman wor- " ſhip could not be ſuſpected at the very " moment when that worſhip was going to " be placed by them in the firſt rank of the " public expences, and when, by an unani- " mous impulſe of reſpect, they had ex- " preſſed their ſentiments in the only man- " ner that can be ſuitable to the dignity of " Religion and the character of the Na- " tional Aſſembly, reſolve, that they neither " can nor ought to come to any determina- " tion reſpecting the propoſed motion, and " that they will reſume the order of the " day relative to the eccleſiaſtical tithes."

At the opening of the Sitting next day ſeveral Eccleſiaſtical Deputies complained of having been inſulted and ill-treated in the ſtreets, and at the entrance of the Thuilleries, but they were not even liſtened to. Satisfaction for outrages ſuffered by the members of the Clergy was not the order of the day, but

but the ſpoliation of them was which was determined that day by the adoption of the four firſt articles of the Decree propoſed by the Committee.

After ſecuring ſo immenſe a mortgage for the Aſſignats, the Aſſembly ſoon decreed, that they ſhould have the currency of money throughout the whole Kingdom, and be received as caſh at all banks, public and private. They reduced to 3 per cent. the intereſt of 5 per cent. allowed for them by the Decrees of the 19th and 21ſt of December, and fixed the firſt amount to be iſſued at 400 millions. They declared at the ſame time, that the debts of the Clergy were held to be National, and that the public treaſury ſhould be charged to pay the intereſt of them and the principals.

Thus was completed, in the name of the Nation, that general *expropriation* of the Clergy, or rather that immenſe robbery which was the certain fore-runner of the fate of all the property of the Kingdom.

When we conſider the progreſs of the Revolution, and all the ſubverſions it has effected, we are tempted to think that it was the reſult of an uniform plan, as vaſt as profound; and that it had been conſtantly directed

reſted by the ſame men, from the conformity in the means and dexterity in uſing them. From the ſpoliation of the Clergy was to ſpring the abolition of the Catholic worſhip; and the degradation of Royalty was to produce the Republic; it was by the means with which the former always threw a veil over the latter, that the Altar and the Throne were to be ſubverted. Yet they were innovators divided among themſelves, enemies to one another, and having different views, who all concurred, without a previous underſtanding, in the execution of a plan which none of them had formed, and which no one had even dared to conceive.—The Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and many other economiſts and philanthropiſts, with intentions which they believed pure, opened the breach through which *Robeſpierre* and *Marat* were to ruſh; and ſome pariſh prieſts, who had no other object than to attain eccleſiaſtical dignitites, and increaſe their income by diminiſhing that of the high Clergy, recruited the Revolutionary army, which was deſtined to overturn their own parſonages as well as the palaces of their Biſhops. The People, whoſe name was borrowed to attack all the ancient inſtitutions

tions both civil and religious, were by their ignorance, as well as their impetuoſity, the blind inſtrument of all the horrid events, the object of which was carefully kept from them; for they would have exterminated, not the Ariſtocrats, but the Revolutioniſts, if they had been let into the ſecret. Theſe were well aware of the danger; and it was to avoid it, that in the Sitting of the 2d of November 1789, inſtead of propoſing at once the ſpoliation of the Clergy, they ſpoke only of the advantages of a better diviſion of the property of the Clergy, and of the certainty of obtaining them by declaring it at the diſpoſal of the Nation, whoſe mind might be made known reſpecting it by reſolutions in the Departments.—It was not till they had laboured for five months to miſlead the public by every manner of means, that they dared to take one ſtep more, and to propoſe to inveſt the Adminiſtrations of the Departments, or of the Diſtricts, with the management of the eccleſiaſtical eſtates. The intention of alienating them was by no means made known, and the People were always made to underſtand that it was not a thing to be thought of till they

they had been conſulted in all the Communes. It was in this ſenſe that the inſidious report of the Committee, and the plan for a Decree they preſented were drawn up. The debate was cloſed, and the queſtion was going to be put to the vote, when *M. Malouet*, perceiving the ſnare, ſuddenly unveiled it by moving, that before the different articles of the Decree were paſſed the principal queſtion ſhould be put in theſe terms:

1ſt, Shall the incumbents be deprived of their benefices?

2dly, Shall a territorial endowment be preſerved for the churches and the poor of France?

This motion inſtantly produced in the Aſſembly a very decided opinion againſt the peremptory ſpoliation, not only among the members of the *Coté-Droit*, but on the part of a great number of Deputies of the popular party, who not being in the ſecret of the leaders of the Revolution, were always ready to ſeparate from them when they were ſhown an imminent danger which they had not

not perceived, or a miſchief which they had no intention to do. "That is not the queſ-"tion," cried the ſpeakers of the *Coté-Gauche;* "there are ſome who wiſh to de-"ceive you; and to deprive you of the great "means of credit which is offered to you "by the ſimple mortgage of the eſtates of "the Clergy; the queſtion is not about the "ſpoliation either of the poor or of the "churches: this is a ſnare of the Ariſ-"tocracy, &c. &c."

Vociferations, inſults, and a dreadful tumult, prevented *M. Malouet* and all the members of the *Coté-Droit* from making themſelves heard; they were not even ſuffered to ſpeak; and the Decree propoſed by the Committee, ſupported by the clamours, menaces, and clappings of the galleries, obtained the majority—and the more eaſily, as the ſenſible part of the Deputies of the Clergy took no ſhare in the deciſion: but ſtill it would have been rejected by a majority, had not its definitive object been ſo formally diſavowed. The ſame might be ſaid of almoſt all the Decrees which have produced the principal events of the Revolution. So true is it, that this political hurricane, which aroſe from the breaking looſe

of

of all the paſſions, and even from the love of good, collected and ſtrengthened itſelf with their motions, whichever way impelled, central or divergent, and violently combined them all in its devaſtations.

At this criſis an inſurrection broke out at Liſle, which was the more remarkable, as it laid open the plan formed for the diſorganization of the army, and the means employed for that purpoſe in all the garriſons of the Kingdom. The four regiments that formed that of Liſle, *La Couronne*, *Royal-des-Vaiſſeaux*, *Colonel-General*, and the *Chaſſeurs de Normandie*, were living in perfect concord among themſelves, and with the inhabitants, and remained obedient to their Officers. The arrival of ſome Revolutionary Emiſſaries, and particularly *St. George*, the Mulatto, who was attached to the Duke of *Orleans*, very ſoon diſturbed this happy harmony. It chanced that a ſoldier of the regiment of *La Couronne* was killed in fair fighting by one of the *Chaſſeurs de Normandie*; and this was repreſented to the comrades of the former as an aſſaſſination, for which they ought to take revenge. The regiment *Royal-des-Vaiſſeaux* took the part of that of *La Couronne*, and the

the regiment of the *Colonel-General* ſided with the *Chaſſeurs de Normandie*. The 7th of April being the day fixed upon to decide the quarrel, ſeveral ſoldiers of three of theſe regiments went out of the town to a ſpot agreed upon. But the Officer who commanded the regiment of the *Colonel-General* having detained them in the citadel, the battle was poſtponed till the next day. The Marquis *de Livarot*, who at this time had the command in Flanders, in the abſence of Prince *de Robeck*, gave orders that the four regiments ſhould return to their quarters, and empowered them to ſend a deputation to him next morning at ſeven o'clock, conſiſting of two ſoldiers from each company, to lay their reſpective grievances before him; which was done. The meeting was at firſt violent: however, after a long debate it was agreed that the paſt ſhould be forgotten, and that a ſincere and general reconciliation ſhould take place. The deputed ſoldiers all engaged for the ſincerity of it upon their word of honour. At that moment of effuſion and confidence they voluntarily and unanimouſly denounced five public-houſes, in which they were provided with liquor gratis, and which were ſo many centres of

diſcord and rebellion. *M. de Livarot*, happy at having reſtored order and peace in the garriſon, propoſed to the deputation to go with them to the quarters of all the regiments to tell them of this good news. The propoſal was received with rapture: they went out with him carrying him in triumph, and at the ſame time acclamations of joy echoed through the town. Three of the regiments appeared at firſt extremely diſpoſed to accept the peace; which was not the caſe with the fourth, the *Royal-des-Vaiſſeaux*.—*M. de Livarot* heard ſeditious expreſſions from them of a very alarming nature. About noon anonymous notes announcing treachery were diſperſed in the different quarters. The ſoldiers, greatly enraged, formed ſeveral groups on the *Place d'Armes*. Thoſe belonging to the regiment of *La Couronne* and the *Royal-des-Vaiſſeaux* having their muſkets, forced by the guard, went out of the town, fired in the ſuburbs on the ſoldiers of the two other regiments, and running to the arſenal forced the gates of it.—*M. de Livarot* immediately flew thither, re-inforced the poſt, and ſaved the arſenal, but not till fifteen muſkets and eight hundred cartridges had been taken out of it.—

At the ſame moment, hired emiſſaries went to the different quarters, talking of treachery, and adviſing the ſoldiers to take care of their General, who, they ſaid, had only brought about this pretended reconciliation to cauſe all the citizens to be murdered.—The prudent meaſures taken by *M. de Livarot*, and his activity, prevented a general battle; but he could not prevent the partial ſkirmiſhes of armed platoons as they met one another. Eight ſoldiers of the *Colonel-General* and of the *Chaſſeurs de Normandie* were killed on this day, and about fifteen men wounded, almoſt all belonging to theſe regiments. Enraged at this loſs, they aſſembled in the citadel, with the reſolution of going out armed to engage the two other regiments in a general battle. *M. de Livarot* was no ſooner informed of it, than he haſtened thither to endeavour to appeaſe them, and to ſend them to their quarters. He went into the citadel alone, but had ſcarcely begun to ſpeak when his ears were aſſailed with furious ſhouts: he was inſulted and abuſed in the moſt violent manner. Two blows were levelled at him with a bayonet: the firſt did not reach him, but the ſecond knocked out two of his teeth

"Hang him! hang him!" cried they; "we are betrayed; the General ordered that "we ſhould be fired upon." Exaſperated at ſo atrocious a charge, *M. de Livarot* ſeized the ſoldier who uttered it by the collar, told him he lied, and challenged him to maintain it againſt him ſword in hand. This brave and noble impulſe, which *M. de Livarot's* rank and his white hairs rendered more remarkable, made the moſt advantageous impreſſion on all the ſoldiers; they no longer talked of hanging their General, but only *of ſecuring his perſon without doing him any harm.* He was firſt confined in a room in the citadel, under a guard of ſixteen ſoldiers, and afterwards removed with the ſame guard to the houſe of the *Lieutenant de Roi.* From that moment the ſoldiers acknowledged no authority but that of a Committee which they eſtabliſhed, and the members of which they choſe from among themſelves. This pretended Committee, not knowing how to get rid of *M. de Livarot,* took the reſolution of deputing four ſoldiers to the National Aſſembly for their orders. In ſhort, after a confinement of nine days, *M. de Livarot* left Liſle, upon an order from the King enjoining him to

come and give an account of his conduct. He underwent the ſtricteſt examination in the Aſſembly, who, finding nothing to blame, merely paſſed to the order of the day. The King, more juſt, beſtowed on the Marquis *de Livarot* the praiſe which his zeal, prudence, and devotion to his Majeſty's ſervice merited. But the only puniſhment that the ſituation of affairs ſuffered to be given to the four ſeditious regiments was their removal to another garriſon. No inquiry was made reſpecting the perſons who defrayed the expences of the ſoldiers in the five public-houſes denounced, and the fact, which was atteſted by the whole garriſon of Liſle, was conſidered by the Municipality as an ungrounded charge.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the Red Book.

THE publication of this *Red Book*, long expected and always deſigned as a monſtrous memorial of the mal-practices and peculation of the Miniſters, was at length announced. Mr. *Necker* was exceedingly aſtoniſhed at it, and the more ſo, as the Deputy *Camus*, who had written to him in the name of the Committee of Penſions for a communication of this Regiſter, had aſſured him in the moſt poſitive manner, that it was not the intention of the Committee to feed a vain curioſity, by divulging circumſtances the publicity of which might be productive of any uneaſineſs to the King.

King. The Miniſter, a few days after, complained bitterly of this breach of their word, to the members of the Committee, who had gone to him to aſk for another regiſter, and reproached them with having had the Red Book printed without authority either from the King or the Aſſembly. "As "for the Aſſembly," replied *Camus*, "it "is to them alone we owe an account of "the motives by which we have been "guided: as to the King, we are not his "Repreſentatives, and we owe him no ac- "count of the Commiſſion deputed to us "by the Aſſembly."

It was extending confidence to a great length to depend upon the promiſes of ſuch a man as *Camus*. What fidelity, what ſentiments of honour could be hoped from that monſter of ingratitude, who, while he owed his very exiſtence to the Clergy, by whom he had been long employed as counſel, and was very largely paid, gloried in figuring amongſt the moſt violent of their detractors, and in diſplaying his dull and brutal inſolence againſt them?

The Red Book was a regiſter in folio, bound in red morocco. The ten firſt leaves contained the expences under the reign of

Louis XV.; thoſe that had been ordered by *Louis XVI.* were inſerted in the thirty-two leaves following; and the reſt of the regiſter was blank. Each article of expence was written by the Comptroller-General, or the Miniſter of the Finances, and checked by the initial letter of the King's ſignature. Every change of Adminiſtration was marked in this Regiſter by a reſolution, written ſometimes by the King, and ſometimes by the Miniſter, with the King's ſignature at length.

The firſt communication of the Red Book was made to the Committee of Penſions at Mr. *Necker's*, before *M. de Montmorin*, on the 15th of March in the afternoon. Mr. *Necker* having declared it to be the King's deſire, that no notice ſhould be taken of the expences entered into under his grand-father, the Committee began the peruſal of the book with the firſt article of the reign of *Louis XVI*, which was the item of a ſum of 200,000 livres diſtributed among the poor on the death of the late King. The part of the Regiſter which referred to the reign of *Louis XV.* was ſealed up within a ſtrip of paper when it was ſent to the Committee of Penſions. That ſlight barrier was

was reſpected much more through policy than through any conſideration for the King. They had no intereſt in rendering the Miniſters of *Louis XV.* odious, and it was to be feared that a compariſon of their Adminiſtration with that of the Miniſters of *Louis XVI,* being entirely in favour of the latter, would counteract the effect propoſed by the publication of the Red Book. It would have produced none, if it had been printed exactly; but after a moſt minute examination of all the articles of this famous Regiſter, the Committee not finding in it any of thoſe ſcandalous prodigalities which they had been inceſſantly reporting, impudently put in practice every diſhoneſt reſource to miſlead opinion. They printed but a very ſlight ſketch of the Red Book, to which they prefixed an Introduction every ſentence of which was an atrocious impoſture.

In this Introduction they ſay—" The " Red Book is not the only Regiſter which " contains proofs of the covetouſneſs of " men in favour. The continual labour to " which the Committee devote themſelves, " diſcovers to them a multitude of proofs

" of

" of other depredations, which they will " ſucceſſively make known. At a moment " when the Nation is exerting itſelf to " eſtabliſh order and economy in the Fi- " nances, to alleviate the burdens of the " People; at a moment when the People " are carrying with confidence a ſhare of " their pittances to the public treaſury, they " ſhould not be left ignorant that the amount " of the private orders for money (*ordon-* " *nances de comptant*) contrived to cover an " infinity of expences which could not be " avowed without ſhame, were as follows:

	Liv.	*s.*	*d.*		*Liv.*	*s.*	*d.*
" in 1779	116,176,562	14	7	—in 1781	91,971,413	17	6
" in 1782	87,143,428	2	9	—in 1783	145,438,131	19	9
" in 1784	111,714,986	14	9	—in 1785	136,684,828	5	2
" In 1786	87,958,401	6	7	—in 1787	82,913,075	16	1
" The whole amounting to - -					860,000,828	17	2"

This violent declamation in the Introduction to the Red Book; which had nothing to do with the *ordonnances de comptant*, was certainly extremely miſplaced: but it was ſtill more unjuſt, and totally unfounded; for, ſo far were the *ordonnances de comptant* from being contrived to cover expences which dared not be avowed, that they were chiefly employed

ployed in diſcharge of the uſual and indiſpenſable public expences. In fact, the Receivers-General diſcharged different expences in the Provinces, for the work-houſes of the poor; for houſes of correction; for remittances or indemnities on caſualties; for epidemical diſeaſes of the cattle; for the expences of the Intendant's Offices; the deficiencies in the taxes, or indemnifications granted to the Provinces; accoutrements of ſoldiers; charges of arming, &c. &c. The diſcharge of theſe expences was verified by the Intendants, and the Receivers-General were reimburſed for them by thoſe *ordonnances de comptant*; which was deemed neceſſary to ſpare the Chamber of Accounts the minute detail of an immenſe number of receipts, ſome of which might have been deficient in thoſe ſtrict formalities required in that Court. The *ordonnances de comptant* were alſo employed for paying the intereſts of the ſecurities or funds in advance of various Companies of Finance; the intereſt of the debts of the old India Company; the intereſts and coſts on moneys taken up by anticipated payments, and for ſeveral loans made on account of the Royal Treaſury by the States of the Provinces.—

Laſtly,

Laſtly, it was by theſe *ordonnances de comptant* that the *Fermiers Généraux* were reimburſed the funds remitted to the payers of the annuities for their ſervice, and which the *Fermiers Généraux* threw into the Royal Treaſury, for the purpoſe of their being delivered to the payers of the annuities.

The account of the Keeper of the Royal Treaſury, who paid theſe orders, was ſettled by the King himſelf in his Council of Finances, compoſed not only of his Miniſters, but of ſeveral Counſellors of State. A ſtatement was drawn up before them, called *the caſh acquittance*, (*acquit de comptant*,) to the amount of the ſums paid by virtue of the *ordonnances de comptant*. This ſtatement was examined with the orders themſelves, and ſigned by the King and the Miniſters immediately after the examination.—The King ordered the Chamber of Accounts to allow the Keeper of the Royal Treaſury, for diſburſements, a ſum equivalent to the amount of this ſtatement, the correctneſs of which he certified. The *ordonnances de comptant* there mentioned were depoſited at the Louvre, to be preſerved and exhibited as occaſion required, and there was not one which

which did not expreſs the reaſons for which it had been given.

The Committee had been informed of all theſe circumſtances, and ſome of their members had even gone to the Louvre to examine the *ordonnances de comptant;* it was therefore with their eyes open that they took advantage of the ignorance of the public to criminate a form of Adminiſtration which could have nothing in it reprehenſible, and which had the merit of rendering the audit of the Royal Treaſury more ſimple and expeditious. One might have ſuppoſed, on hearing the declamations of the Committee, that the Chamber of Accounts was a high National Court authoriſed to diſcuſs and controul whatever expences were ordered by the Adminiſtration; whereas, on the contrary, it was a mere court of audit, eſtabliſhed by the Monarch to receive and ſettle in the King's name, and for his eaſe, the accounts of the Receivers and Treaſurers of the Royal moneys and of the revenues of the State; and it was for this reaſon that they admitted without examination the vouchers which the King had taken the pains to examine himſelf in Council, ſuch as *the caſh acquittances* (*acquits de comptant*).

" It

"It will be neceſſary," add the Committee in their Introduction, "to expoſe "to the view of the Nation the audacity of "the Miniſters, one of whom, loaded with "the King's favours, and enjoying ſtipends "and penſions to the amount of 98,622 li-"vres, after having obtained, on the 26th "of March 1785, penſions for ten of his "family, after having added an eleventh "penſion to that liſt, granted to a relation "whom he had forgotten before, preferred "alſo, on the 4th of September 1787, the "following petitions: for an hereditary "Duchy, with an annuity of 60,000 li-"vres, 15,000 of which to be ſettled on each "of his two children, and a ſum of money "down to aſſiſt him in arranging his af-"fairs. Another, while he took the ho-"nour with the public of receiving only "half the penſion of 20,000 livres uſually "granted to the Miniſters, petitioned, on "the 26th of November 1788, for a diſ-"charge of 100,000 livres, a ſum for "which he was debtor in his own depart-"ment out of the moneys committed to "his direction; and gave as the ground of "his petition, that his predeceſſors had ob-"tained almoſt every year gratuities to

"the

" the amount of from 80 to 100,000 li-
" vres."

Marſhal *de Segur*, who was alluded to in the firſt of theſe charges, repelled it with force and dignity in the following letter, which he cauſed to be inſerted in ſeveral of the public papers:

" I have never anſwered pamphlets or li-
" bels. My age, rank, ſervices, wounds,
" and the eſteem of the army, were in my
" eyes a ſufficient defence againſt injuſtice
" and calumny; but I have obſerved in the
" public papers, and heard cried in the
" ſtreets, a work entitled *the Red Book*,
" and ſigned, to my great aſtoniſhment, by
" the Committee of Penſions, although
" neither the King nor the National Aſſem-
" bly had ordered or permitted the print-
" ing of it. As the expences in that book
" had no reference either to myſelf or any
" belonging to me, I could not have ima-
" gined that I ſhould have been unjuſtly
" cited in it by men who ought to have re-
" ſpected me, and for favours *which were*
" *not granted to me.* My whole life is the
" only anſwer I ſhall give to theſe indecent
" charges:

" charges: yet I think it proper to inform " the public, that the relations whom I am " accuſed of having enriched by penſions, are " ten poor gentlemen of my name, who " themſelves and their whole family ſerved " the King, and moſt of whom had not even " the neceſſaries of life. No other Mini- " ſter but would have thought it right to aſ- " ſiſt them; and being their relation was " no reaſon why I ſhould be unjuſt towards " them. The whole ſum that was divided " among all thoſe Officers was a penſion of " 6000 livres: let the public judge whether " that was exceſſive or not. As to the im- " putation caſt upon me for having on my " own authority given a penſion to an " eleventh relation, it is a falſity. I never " granted any thing during my Adminiſtra- " tion, which I am bold to term irre- " proachable, without the King's order or " approbation. I appeal without fear to " the teſtimony of a Monarch whoſe can- " dour and virtues are well known. I did " not expect, after having ſhed my blood, " and ſacrificed my fortune for my country, " that any one would have dared to have " upbraided me with the King's favours as " a crime, much leſs with thoſe which he

" might

" might have been willing, but which he " was not able to grant me. I wiſh, for the " ſake of my country, that my detractors " may be of as much uſe to it as I have " been. This wiſh ſhall be all my reply " and all my revenge."

There was no leſs injuſtice in the imputation of covetouſneſs caſt upon the other Miniſter, who having obtained no gratuity during his Adminiſtration, and conſenting to receive only the half of the penſion of 20,000 livres, which he had a right to expect on retiring, petitioned to be diſpenſed with reporting a ſum of 100,000 livres, which he had received in advance out of the funds of his department. But beſides, ſuppoſing this petition a thouſand times more reprehenſible than in fact it was, it had not been granted by the King. No mention was made of it in the Red Book, more than of the *ordonnances de comptant*, or of the hereditary Duchy and the penſion petitioned for, but not obtained, by Marſhal *de Segur;* it is therefore very evident that the Committee of Penſions, by filling their Introduction to that Regiſter entirely with calumniating declamations, which were entirely

foreign to it, had no other object than that of ſeizing an occaſion which appeared very favourable to publiſh a libel againſt the Miniſters.

To give an air of moderation to this indecent compoſition, in order to procure for it the more credit, the Committee had inſerted great eulogiums on the ſtrict economy of the King in every thing relating to his own affairs or perſonal gratifications, repeating his words—"There is no hurry"—"Good, "provided it occaſion no new expences."

The concluſion of this Introduction is too remarkable to be paſſed over in ſilence—the words are, "The King's wiſhes for the "relief of France ſhall not be diſappointed. "The Nation cannot but with great ſatiſ- "faction perceive, that by ſuppreſſing in "future all indiſcreet gifts, and by ceaſ- "ing to be prodigal in order to be al- "ways generous, it will diminiſh the bulk "of expences perhaps *one-fifth yearly*." It would have been difficult to puſh impoſture and buffoonery farther; and to be ſatiſfied of it, we have only to caſt our eyes on the ſketch of the Red Book as drawn up by the Committee themſelves, and printed at the end of this Introduction. That

ſketch makes the total of the ſums entered on the Red Book from the 19th of May 1774 to the 16th of Auguſt 1789 amount to 227,985,716 *liv.* 10*s.* 1*d.* This ſum divided by the fifteen years and three months leaves for each year fourteen millions nine hundred and forty thouſand and upwards.—To avoid fractions, let us average the year at fifteen millions, and ſuppoſe that all the expences for which this ſum was employed could have been ſuppreſſed, the ſaving that would have reſulted from it on the bulk of the expences of the State, which amounted then to near ſix hundred millions, could not have been a fifth; it would have been at moſt three per cent. This miſtake is too enormous not to give grounds for ſuſpicion of diſhoneſty in thoſe who committed it. I will not, however, dwell on this, leſt I ſhould be accuſed of treating the Committee of Penſions with too much ſeverity; but I ſhall be leſs indulgent to much more ſerious errors which they have committed knowingly, the proofs of which I ſhall now ſtate.

The ſkeleton of the Red Book publiſhed by the Committee is divided into ten chap-

ters: the firſt contains the ſums given by the King to his brothers, amounting to 28,364,211 *liv.* 13*s.* 6*d.* This ſum divided by fifteen years and three months was not *communibus annis* two millions a year; and, had the Aſſembly not interfered, it would have been conſiderably reduced, in conſequence of the payment of the debts of the Princes, and of the improvements they had made in the adminiſtration of their revenues. I am willing, nevertheleſs, to leave to the Committee all the honour of the entire ſuppreſſion of this article.

The gifts and gratuities make up the ſecond chapter, the amount of which is 6,174,793 *liv.* 19*s.* 10*d.* Among other articles were the following:—A remittance made by the King to his aunts, being the purchaſe-money for the Palace of Bellevue, 754,337 *liv.* 15*s.*; for payment of the debts of the Princeſs *Chriſtina*, 150,363 *liv.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; the price of her pearls, diamonds, and trinkets, bought by the Queen, 158,993 *liv.*; a ſum granted by the King to *Montgolfier*, for the conſtruction of a new aëroſtatic machine, 40,000 *liv.*; and two orders payable to bearer, of 20,000 *livres* each, for two

of

of the three years of aſſiſtance granted to the Counteſs *de Lameth* for the education of her children:—40,000 *livres*. Although the ſum total of the expences reported in this chapter amounted to 6,174,793 *liv.* 19*s.* 10*d.* yet many of them, and particularly thoſe I have mentioned, were not of a nature to be continued. The income of the King's aunts, though very ſmall conſidering their rank, was managed with ſuch order and economy that it would have exceeded their wants, had not their bounties and alms conſtantly kept an exact balance between their expenditure and their receipts. The Princeſs *Chriſtina*, being dead, had no longer any debts to pay, or diamonds to be ſold; and although the education of the young *Lameths* coſt the King much more than he had a right to expect, it is certain that it was no longer at the expence of the public money *.

I am

* I ought, for the accuracy of the fact, to add, that although the conduct of the *Lameths* in the Aſſembly and at the Jacobin Club entirely ſecured them from the ſuſpicion of being ſold to the Court, they haſtened immediately after the publication of the Red Book to remit to the Royal Treaſury the 60,000 livres that had been drawn from it for their education. I ſhall not inquire

I am ready, however, to ſuppoſe ſtill, that the zeal of the Committee alone could effect the ſuppreſſion of all the expences of the nature of thoſe which form this chapter as well as the following one, which amount to 2,221,341 *liv.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ariſing from penſions and ſtipends.

The fourth chapter ſtated the King's alms, and the ſum total was 254,000 *livres.* The extraordinary alms had nothing in common with thoſe which the King gave every day from his own private funds, and they were too moderate to be charged with prodigality: this expence then could not bear any reduction.

The fifth chapter preſents the indemnities, advances, loans, placing of money, and arrangements of accounts; and the total is 15,254,106 *liv.* 12*s.* 2*d.* But the advances, loans, placing of money, and arrangements of accounts, which engroſſed the greater part of that ſum, could not be placed in the number of expences. The indemnities only ought to be ranked in that claſs, and the

whether the reſtitution of this money was dictated by ingratitude or not, but content myſelf with obſerving, that it was imperiouſly demanded by juſtice.

different

different articles of that nature contained in this chapter amount only to 377,526 *livres*. Theſe indemnities were bounties granted in return for expences incurred for the King's ſervice. Theſe the Committee conſidered as indiſcreet gifts; and ſhould we allow with them that they deſerved that inſolent epithet, yet it will ſtill be true that the only poſſible ſaving as to the expences contained in this chapter was reduced to 377,526 *livres*.

The ſixth chapter is entitled *Purchaſes and Exchanges;* it does not clearly appear why, for there is no mention made in it of a ſingle exchange. The ten articles of which it is compoſed all relate to the following purchaſes:—1ſt. The rents and revenue of Clermontois; 2d. the Palace, Park, and Lordſhip of L'iſle-Adam; 3d. the Foreſts of Lamors and Floranges; 4th. the Duties of Exciſe of Vendome, and Salt of Brouage; 5th. the Woods of the *Maiſon* Eſtate; 6th. ſome Duties of Exciſe in the Province of Anjou; 7th. the Houſe of Beaujon. The ſum total of the expences reported in this chapter amounted to 20,868,821 *liv.* 2*s.* 9*d.* However convenient theſe purchaſes, it would perhaps have been better to have poſt-

poned all of this kind till more proſperous times, and the King had made no new ones ſince the year 1789; but thoſe which had been completed were neither indiſcreet gifts nor prodigalities: they had produced an increaſe of the revenues of the State, and the ſuppreſſions announced by the Committee could not apply to the expences compriſed in this chapter.

The affairs of Finance, the ſum total of which amounted to 5,825,000 *livres*, are the ſubject of the ſeventh chapter. This ſum had been entirely employed in reimburſing the expences of the extraordinary ſervice in Finance, that is to ſay, the intereſt of temporary loans obtained by the Keepers of the Royal Treaſury, on their credit, to ſecure payments that could not admit the delays which often happened in collecting the revenues of the State. The cenſures of the Committee did not apply to the expences of this nature; and the ſaving they were capable of, always depended on the punctuality of the Treaſurers and Receivers in gathering the taxes, and in remitting the amount of them to the Royal Treaſury.

The eighth chapter is the moſt remarkable, compriſing the expences of the Department for

for Foreign Affairs, the ſecret tranſactions of the Poſts, and other matters: the total of thoſe expences amounts to 135,804,891 *livres*.— According to the old forms of making up the accounts of the department for foreign affairs, the expences were divided into two claſſes; the one included the ſtipends of the Ambaſſadors and Miniſters at foreign Courts, the Miniſter's offices, and expreſſes of extraordinary Meſſengers, and was diſcharged by orders mentioning the object of the expence, and in the ſame manner as the expences of the other departments: this claſs amounted, *communibus annis*, from the commencement of the reign of *Louis XVI.* nearly to the ſum of 2,775,000 *livres*. The other claſs included ſubſidies paid to foreign powers; reimburſements of advances made by the King's Ambaſſadors and Miniſters in the places where they reſided; expences of a firſt eſtabliſhment at the times of changing; ſecret expences fixed at the ſum of 200,000 *livres*, which often appear in the Red Book under the denomination of expenditure of the Miniſter for foreign affairs, although individually they did not concern him at all; and laſtly, all the other expences relative to this

this department, which from their nature, or the circumſtances attending them, were not conſidered as proper to be ſubmitted to the examination of the Chamber of Accounts.

This latter claſs varied according to circumſtances. During the American war it amounted, one year with another, to the ſum of nine or ten millions. There was no very ſenſible diminution at the peace, becauſe, in the years that immediately followed, the department for foreign affairs was charged ſo far down as 1788 to pay annually a ſum of 2,400,000 *livres*, to liquidate the balance remaining due on the purchaſe of Rambouillet.

It is the expences of this claſs that are found mentioned in the Red Book, and in this chapter, firſt quarterly and then yearly. There is alſo another article that returns twice a year, and which is inſerted under the following title: *In conſequence of Political Arrangements.* This article was not compriſed in the expences of foreign affairs, becauſe it was the reſult of an arrangement which *M. de Calonne* had been authoriſed to conclude directly with the King of Sweden,

Sweden, during the reſidence of that Monarch at Paris. *M. de Vergennes*, then Miniſter for foreign affairs, had only ſigned the agreement which ſettled the conditions of the ſubſidy which the King granted to his Swediſh Majeſty. The department of the Finances was charged with the payment of this ſubſidy, which was 1,200,000 *livres* payable half yearly, and which continued five years; in the laſt year of which only, by an arrangement made with the Archbiſhop of *Sens*, the expence was carried back to the department for foreign affairs. That of the Finances was likewiſe charged with a ſum of 4,500,000 florins, payable in Holland, and mentioned in this chapter for the year 1787. Theſe two articles, though relative to foreign affairs, made no part of the expences of that department.

It appears from theſe particulars how abſurd the reports were concerning the pretended immenſe ſubſidies in favour of the Court of Vienna, which had neither received nor pretended to any ſince the year 1763, thoſe excepted which had been ſtipulated previouſly, and the laſt of which was paid in 1769.

The

The ſecret buſineſs of the Poſts, alſo included in this chapter, amounted to 300,000 *livres* a year, and for the laſt two years to 330,000 *livres*, including the expences of the office: the Comptroller of the poſts was charged with theſe. I was very intimate with the Baron *d'Ogny*, who filled this office during the whole reign of *Louis XVI.* and an honeſter man never exiſted.

Notwithſtanding the inconveniences attending the ſecret expences in Adminiſtration, and although they ſubject the manager of them to ſuſpicions and calumnies, againſt which he can only oppoſe his integrity, there are circumſtances in which it is abſolutely neceſſary to have recourſe to them: chiefly for the maintenance of the police of great towns; but likewiſe in the department for foreign affairs, and in the adminiſtration of the poſts, this is an indiſpenſable means; and, in ſpite of the fooliſh remarks of the vulgar, immenſe ſavings have always been the object, and generally too the reſult, of theſe ſecret expences. It is frequently by theſe that the moſt important negotiations have been brought to a ſucceſsful iſſue; war averted, and peace accelerated.

The uſual and ſecret expences ſtated in this

this chapter were therefore ſuſceptible of no reduction but ſuch as would be injurious.—*M. de Montmorin* had on this head given the moſt circumſtantial information to the Committee of Penſions, who had alſo received from Mr. *Necker* the moſt ſatisfactory explanation on all the articles of the Red Book relative to the Finances. Thus, had thoſe Gentlemen been deſirous of informing the public and of appeaſing the violent fermentation excited by all the ſtale ſtories repeated againſt the Red Book, nothing would have been eaſier; but it was not truth, it was deluſion they wiſhed to propagate, and their Introduction is but a web of falſities.

The ninth chapter of the ſketch of the Red Book is entitled *Sundry Expences*. It includes the ſecret expences of the police; the purchaſes of books; linen given to the priſons; an advance of 250,000 *livres* as a loan to one of the Directors of the new India Company for his ſhare of the funds; 728,600 *livres* for an aſſignment ordered by his Majeſty, relative to intereſt of various kinds in commercial affairs; the extraordinary expences occaſioned by the birth of the

the Dauphin, of the Duke of *Normandy*, and of Madame *Sophia*, and the expences of the King's journey to Cherbourg, which coſt only 148,000 *livres*. The ſum total of the expences reported in this chapter amounts to 1,794,600 *livres*. The Committee did not dare to find fault with any of theſe; conſequently they ſaw in them neither prodigality nor indiſcreet gifts to ſuppreſs.

Laſtly, the tenth chapter contains the perſonal expences of the King and Queen, amounting in the whole to 11,423,750 *liv.* 8*s.* 6*d.* The Committee, without entering into the detail of the articles that made up this ſum, only obſerved that a great part of it had been laid out in purchaſing funds. "I know "not whether the books of the Finances "of any Sovereign in Europe can ſhew a "ſimilar total," ſaid Mr. *Necker* on this occaſion, in the obſervations which he publiſhed on the Introduction to the Red Book. In anſwer to the perſonal cenſure the Committee of Penſions had caſt upon him for giving a preference to favourites, while he forgot the poor and the unfortunate in diſtreſs—he oppoſed *the ſentiments of the one, and the affection of the other, throughout his*

his life. " Surely," added he, " it does " not belong to thoſe who are yet in their " apprenticeſhip of public virtues, to take " upon them to teach me in what manner " to hold the balance between the laws of " juſtice and the duties of humanity. A " very grand idea muſt be formed in the " Aſſembly of the unknown pleaſures and " concealed delights which accompany the " adminiſtration of public affairs, to ima- " gine that the Miniſters are a peculiar ſpe- " cies of Citizens, to be pulled to pieces at " leiſure, and tormented at will! Yet if the " State were to gain any thing by all theſe " attacks, there is not one of us but would " add without pain this ſacrifice to many " others. But I do not ſee what could be " better than a perfect harmony, and a con- " ſtant agreement towards the ſame end; " therefore, it is not without painful re- " flections that I look forward with hope to " the day when I ſhall in turn leave the " ſtage to others. I do not, however, wiſh " them ſuch painful moments. I know " better than any other how far I am uſe- " ful to the public; *and I ſhall know too* " *the moment I ceaſe to be ſo.* Let me " then

" then be truſted on this account, and let " unjuſt hatred have a little patience. A " ſenſe of virtue, the ſame which brought " me back from the foot of the Alps, ſtill " retains me till the approaching failure of " my ſtrength."

Mr. *Necker's* friends were greatly affected by theſe complaints; but his enemies ſaw in them only his everlaſting vanity, and laughed at them. I ſhall but obſerve, that the pathetic ſtyle ought never to be reſorted to againſt baſe calumniators; they ſhould be attacked and felled to the ground with the club of truth. Nothing could be more eaſy on this occaſion; for the ſecret of the Red Book publiſhed by the Committee, and of which I have given here a very exact ſtatement, evidently proved the falſity of the principal aſſertions contained in the libel called an Introduction, which was prefixed to it. How in fact could the advocate *Camus*, the moſt inveterate of the members of that Committee, have been able to reply to the following obſervations?

You have ſtated, that the ſuppreſſion of the prodigalities and pretended indiſcreet gifts expoſed by the publication of the Red Book

Book would diminiſh the bulk of the expences a fifth every year. But the only expences that can admit theſe epithets are thoſe which, in the ſketch you have given of that Regiſter, form the three firſt chapters, and ſome articles of the fifth. All the others are public or indiſpenſible, though ſecret; ſuch as thoſe of the eighth chapter: now thoſe of the firſt chapter amount to a ſum total

	Liv.	*s.*	*d.*
Of - - -	28,364,211	13	6
Thoſe of the ſecond to	6,174,793	19	10
Thoſe of the third to -	2,221,341	13	4
Thoſe of the articles of the ſame nature contained in the fifth chapter to - -	337,526	—	—
Liv.	37,137,873	6	8

Do you pretend, againſt the evidence, againſt the very ſtatement of your ſketch of the Red Book, that all thoſe expences were prodigalities: — that *Louis XVI.* never granted a ſingle favour in the whole courſe

of his reign which was not an indiſcreet gift? Even on this illiberal ſuppoſition it was ſtill neceſſary to divide the total of thoſe expences into fifteen years and three months. This diviſion would leave an expence of 2,435,270 *livres* and ſome *ſols* for each year. See then to what would be reduced the total of thoſe ſuppreſſions which you boldly aſſert in your Introduction would make a ſaving *of near a fifth in the bulk of the expences of each year*; whereas it is evident that it would at moſt amount to the two hundredth part.

I thought it my duty to enter into all theſe details relative to the Red Book, on account of the ſcandalous light in which it was placed by its publiſhers *, and of the atrocious calumnies which have been the conſequences of it. Were the charges that appear the beſt ſupported by the Factious

* The Committee was compoſed of the following perſons: — the Marquis *de Montcalm-Gozon*, Baron *Felix de Wimpfen*, *de Menou*, *Freteau*, *L. M. de Lepeaux*, the Abbé *Expilly*, *Camus*, *Goupil de Preſeln*, *Gautier de Biauzat*, *Treilhard*, *Champeaux-Palaſne*, and *Cattin*.

againſt

againſt the old Government, which they wanted to overthrow, examined as narrowly, they would almoſt all prove to be founded on the groſſeſt impoſtures.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Debate and Decree relative to the limited Powers given to ſeveral Deputies—Some of them declare their Intention of vacating their Seats—Debate on the Organization of the new Judicial Power—Appearance of a War between England and Spain: the King informs the Aſſembly of the Meaſures he had taken on this Occaſion—Important Debates—Decree—Debate on the Delegation of the Right to make War and Peace—Decree which decides this grand Queſtion conformably to a Motion made by Mirabeau.

THE powers which ſeveral of the Deputies had received from their Conſtituents were to terminate in the beginning of May, which

which was now near at hand. On this ſubject the following queſtions, doubtleſs very important yet alſo very ſimple, aroſe for the determination of the Aſſembly:

Would not the vacancies left by thoſe Members, by making the National Repreſentation incomplete, render the Aſſembly incompetent? Should not the Bailiwicks which had appointed them be aſſembled anew, in order to ſend other Members in their ſtead, or to give them more extended powers? Have the Aſſembly, or rather thoſe Deputies who had received unlimited powers from their bailiwicks, a right to extend the powers of their colleagues beyond the term fixed in their inſtructions, and to free them from the oath which they had taken to be faithful to them?

The Aſſembly decided theſe queſtions in the Sitting of the 19th of April, according to the opinion of the Committee of the Conſtitution. "It is no doubt an incon-" teſtible truth," ſaid the Reporter, (*Chapelier*) "that all Sovereignty reſides eſſentially "in the Nation, and that it can recall "when it pleaſes the powers it has dele-"gated; but this principle cannot be ap-"plied in the preſent circumſtance. It

" would be to deſtroy the Conſtitution, to
" alter the Aſſembly appointed to form it
" before it is finiſhed. Commiſſioned by
" our inſtructions *to examine the Conſtitu-*
" *tion*, we were created by the People *the*
" *Conſtituent Aſſembly*. We have begun
" the Conſtitution; our duty is to finiſh it,
" and the Nation by repeated acts has con-
" firmed our power. It would perhaps be
" impoſſible at this time to undertake
" elections in the Aſſemblies that are going
" to be formed; for no Department is yet
" in a ſtate to determine the number of
" Deputies to be returned by it, the calcu-
" lation on which the proportion is to be
" founded not being yet made. Several
" Deputies have limited powers, and it
" would be impoſſible to ſupply their places
" by the time of the expiration of thoſe
" powers; if however they ſhould with-
" draw, the Aſſembly ſhould take no notice
" of it, for they would not be the leſs com-
" plete and competent. Each Deputy is
" not only the Repreſentative of his Bai-
" liwick, but the Repreſentative of the
" Nation; yet we ſhould ſee with regret the
" departure of colleagues ſo enlightened,
" and theſe principles ſecure us the advan-

" tage of keeping them. The powers " given for a year had the reform of the " Conſtitution in view, and the Conſtitu- " ents thought that the year would be ſuf- " ficient. The limiting clauſe of the powers " ſhould yield to the imperative one for the " finiſhing of the Conſtitution, by which " their duration and extent are ſettled. It " is ſaid that the word *Conſtitution* is not " to be found in the powers: all the in- " ſtructions, however, require *the reform of* " *abuſes*, and reform cannot be made but " by the Conſtitution. It is begun: all the " citizens by taking the civic oath have " given it a formal conſiſtency; and more, " when the Aſſembly was attacked by deſ- " potiſm you all took an oath not to ſepa- " rate till the Conſtitution was finiſhed: " that oath was approved every where, and " the Nation by approving it, bound itſelf " to its execution. Beſides, how are the " elections to be made? The old Electors " are no more, the bailiwicks are ſunk in " the departments, and the Orders are no " longer ſeparate. The limiting clauſe of " the powers becomes then of no force, and " it would be contrary to the principles of " the Conſtitution that the Deputies in queſ-

" tion" ſhould not remain in the Aſſembly: " their oath compels them to remain, and " the intereſt of the public requires it."

The Abbé *Maury* with energy removed the errors and confuted the ſophiſms on which the Report was built. He demonſtrated by unanſwerable arguments, 1ſt, That the Nation had no occaſion to withdraw powers that had expired by virtue of the clauſe in which it had itſelf fixed the term of them. 2dly, That the right of renewing thoſe powers after their expiration belonged excluſively to the Nation, or rather to the bailiwicks who had delegated them; becauſe the bailiwicks alone could appoint and inveſt with their powers the Members of an Aſſembly entirely compoſed of Deputies of the bailiwicks. 3dly, That the Decrees which ſunk the bailiwicks into the departments, had neither deſtroyed their former rounds nor cauſed them to be forgotten, and conſequently, that it was then as eaſy as it was the year before to aſſemble them, for the purpoſe of appointing new Deputies, or continuing the powers of the preſent ones. 4thly, That the Nation, far from having expreſsly charged its Repreſentatives to form a new Conſtitution—a charge

that

that would neceſſarily have required powers unlimited as to time, but very limited as to the form of Government it might have wiſhed to be ſubſtituted for the old one—had only authoriſed them to make reforms, and to concert them with the King: therefore, that the limiting clauſes of the powers retained all their force, although the new Conſtitution, of which it made no mention, was not finiſhed; for nothing was farther from being proved than the Aſſembly's having had a right to begin it. 5thly, That the applauſes of galleries and of the populace, and civic oaths of individuals, could not be conſidered as a legal adherence to a future Conſtitution, as yet unknown becauſe it was not made; and ſtill leſs did there reſult from them a unanimous National ſuffrage ſo regularly expreſſed as to authoriſe the Aſſembly of the States-General to imagine or declare themſelves a Conſtituent Aſſembly. 6thly, That the oath in the Tennis-Court had been taken only by a part of the Aſſembly, and that it could never abſolve thoſe who had taken it from that which they had previouſly ſworn to their Conſtituents to be faithful to their inſtructions, that being the one by which they had been conſtituted Deputies;

Deputies. That beſides, the indiſcreet oath of doing what they had no right to do, being evidently void on every principle, could not excuſe them from violating an oath not only legitimate but indiſpenſible; and in ſhort, that it was abſurd to argue, that any Delegates whatever could legally agree among themſelves to violate the expreſs terms of their delegation.

Ridiculous declamations and miſerable ſubtleties were the only anſwer given to the Abbé *Maury*. *Mirabeau*, more wary than the ſpeakers who had gone before him, was very careful not to argue the queſtion logically, but eluded the difficulty of it by one of thoſe rhetorical flouriſhes with which he was ſo ready, and concluded by cutting it ſhort in a very remarkable manner. "You "remember (ſaid he) the circumſtance of "that great man of antiquity, who, to ſave "his country from a conſpiracy, had been "obliged to decide contrary to the laws, "with that rapidity which the invincible "alarm of neceſſity juſtifies. He was "aſked, if he had not acted contrary to his "oath? and the captious tribune who in-"terrogated him thought to involve him in "the dangerous dilemma either of a per-

"jury,

" jury, or an embarraſſing confeſſion. He " replied, *I ſwear that I have ſaved the* " *Republic!* So, Gentlemen," cried *Mirabeau*, turning his looks and ſuiting his geſtures to the *Coté-Gauche* of the Aſſembly, " I ſwear that you have ſaved France!"

This unexpected apoſtrophe eraſed all remembrance of what had been ſaid by the preceding ſpeakers. There was a clapping and a calling for the queſtion; and all the amendments having been diſpoſed of by the previous queſtion, the Aſſembly adopted, by a great majority, the decree propoſed by the Committee of the Conſtitution; and in conſequence declared that, " Whereas the " Conſtituents of ſome Deputies could not " have given them powers to unite in form- " ing only a part of the Conſtitution; and " conſidering the oath taken on the 20th of " June by the Repreſentatives of the Nation " not to ſeparate till the Conſtitution was " completed, which oath had been approved " by the Nation itſelf, the Aſſembly decree " that ſuch powers as were accompanied " with any limitation whatever, ſhould con- " tinue in force until the concluſion of the " Conſtitution, and that the limiting clauſe " ſhould have no effect."

The

The circumſtance of the great man of antiquity produced ſo deciſive an effect on the Aſſembly, only becauſe, like *Mirabeau*, they were convinced of the illegality of the decree which they were about to paſs; for, unleſs they were ſo convinced, this quotation from the Roman hiſtory would not have been applicable; and if the ſalvation of France had been the conſequence of the Decree, there is no doubt but it would have over-ruled the nullity of it, as the ſalvation of Rome had juſtified the irregularity of Scipio's conduct. But that great man took no falſe oath when he ſwore that he had ſaved the Republic; whereas the Decree in queſtion, far from ſaving France, concurred on the contrary in accelerating its ruin. Who knows what would have happened if the bailiwicks whoſe Deputies had limited inſtructions had been aſſembled? Might they not, inſtead of authoriſing them to finiſh the Conſtitution, have ſeverely reprimanded them for having thought of beginning it? Had they not a right to addreſs the King and the Nation, to proteſt againſt all the pretended Conſtitutional Decrees as void, and to petition his Majeſty to convoke anew the other bailiwicks, in order to collect their

ſenſe

ſenſe upon ſuch a criminal abuſe and violalation of their inſtructions? There is no doubt that they might have adopted this meaſure: they might have proceeded much farther; Conſtituents have a right to impeach thoſe who betray the truſts they have committed to them, and to demand puniſhment. This was what the Aſſembly feared, and what they avoided by a Decree radically null, brought forward by *Mirabeau* himſelf, and which only the ſalvation of France could have juſtified. Now, it is but too manifeſt that it was the Aſſembly, and not France, that was ſaved by the Decree of the 19th of April; therefore the nullity of it was not counterbalanced; and it followed neceſſarily and inconteſtibly that every ſubſequent Decree was equally defective, notwithſtanding the ſanction of the King, which, far from being a voluntary or free act, was then the only means left his Majeſty to avoid the moſt ſerious outrages.

Notwithſtanding the Decree of the 19th of April, *M. de Chaillou* and *M. de Vrigny*, Deputies of the Nobility of the bailiwick of Alençon, wrote to the Preſident, and informed him, "That their powers terminat-
"ing at the month of May, they conſidered
"their

" their ſeats as vacant; of which they gave " notice to the Aſſembly, that the order of " the Nobility of their bailiwick might be " authoriſed to elect others in their places." But on a Deputy of the Commons from the ſame bailiwick merely obſerving that his colleagues had not limited inſtructions, the Aſſembly paſſed inſtantly to the order of the day; and decided that no mention ſhould be made of this letter in the minutes. They acted in the ſame manner ſome days after with reſpect to the declaration made by the Marquis *de la Queuille*, a Deputy of the Nobility of Auvergne, that he ſhould retire upon the ſame principle which had guided the Deputies of the Nobility of Alençon. But on the ſame day an addreſs of the Council-General of the Commune of St. Malo, *continuing the powers of its Deputies, and beſeeching the National Aſſembly to go on with their labours till the Conſtitution was completed*, was read with much emphaſis, and mentioned honourably in their Journals. Nobody remarked that this addreſs, ſo agreeable and ſo opportune, was not and could not be of any value; for the Council-General of the Commune of St. Malo had returned no Members to the Aſſembly, and conſequently

conſequently had no right to extend, reſtrain, or modify powers which did not proceed from them. The town of St. Malo was compriſed in the bailiwick of Rennes; and it could only be the right of that bailiwick to extend powers which that alone had granted.

The Sittings in the beginning of the month of May were almoſt entirely engaged by debates on the eſtabliſhment of Juries, on the new organization of the Judicial Power, and chiefly on the following queſtions: Firſt, Shall the appointment of the Judges continue in the hands of the King, or ſhall they be elected by the People? And, in the ſecond place, Shall they be approved by the King? The former of theſe queſtions was very ſoon decided unanimouſly in favour of the People: but not ſo the latter. The opinion of the Committee was, that the Magiſtrates of the Police ſhould be appointed by the People, but that the other Judges could be appointed only by the King, from a preſentation which ſhould be made to him of three canditates, one of whom ſhould be choſen by his Majeſty. This was not only the moſt reaſonable mode, but the only one conſiſtent with the forms of the Monarchy,

Monarchy, even in the ſtate of degradation to which the decrees already paſſed had reduced it. The Aſſembly had in fact previouſly acknowledged that the Judicial Power, being but that of cauſing the laws to be executed, was an emanation of one of the branches of the ſupreme Executive Power which they had delegated to the King, and on this principle it was that they had decreed that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in the name of his Majeſty. The Judges then being only the agents of the King, nothing ſeemed more abſurd than to propoſe his having no ſhare in their appointment; yet ſuch was the opinion which prevailed in the Aſſembly, in ſpite of the eloquence with which *M. de Cazalès*, the Abbé *Maury*, *M. Malouet*, and others, defended the Royal Prerogative, and refuted the democratic arguments of all the Orators of the *Coté-Gauche*. It was decreed, that the King ſhould not have the power of refuſing his conſent to the admiſſion of a Judge elected by the People, and that the Electors ſhould preſent only one perſon to his Majeſty.

Debates no leſs important took place a few days after on a letter written by *M. de Montmorin* for the King to the Preſident of the

the Aſſembly, relative to the differences ſubſiſting between Spain and England, and the extraordinary preparations making by the latter Power. The tenor of the letter was as follows: "Sir, The warlike preparations "which are making by a neighbouring "power, the preſs of ſailors which has "been ordered and is carried on with the "greateſt activity, together with the rea-"ſons given for the armament, have fixed "his Majeſty's attention. He thought, as "his firſt duty is to watch over the ſafety "of the State, that he could not delay tak-"ing proper meaſures for that purpoſe. "He is therefore going to order fourteen "ſhips of the line to be immediately got "ready in the ports of the Atlantic and "Mediterranean; and ſhall in the mean time "give directions to the Commanders of the "Navy in thoſe different ports to be pre-"pared to augment the naval armaments, "if circumſtances ſhould require it.

"His Majeſty having ordered me, Sir, to "inform the National Aſſembly of theſe "ſteps through you, wiſhes that they "ſhould be informed at the ſame time that "they are purely the reſult of prudence and "precaution. The King cheriſhes well

" grounded hopes that peace will not be " interrupted; as his Majeſty has received " aſſurances from the Court of London, " that *the ſole object of thoſe preparations* " *was a difference that had ariſen between* " *that Power and Spain; a difference* " *which his Britannic Majeſty was ſincerely* " *deſirous ſhould be terminated by a negoti-* " *ation:* and in fact, Mr. *Fitzherbert*, an " Ambaſſador from England to Spain, is on " his way to Madrid. This communica- " tion was accompanied with aſſurances *of* " *his Britannic Majeſty's deſire to main-* " *tain with France the good intelligence* " *which ſo happily reigns between the two* " *Nations.*

" But however calculated this language is " to remove apprehenſions, his Majeſty " holds himſelf bound not to neglect mea- " ſures which prudence requires. There is no " one but muſt be ſenſible that when Eng- " land is armed, France cannot and ought " not to remain unarmed; and it behoves " us to demonſtrate to Europe, that the eſ- " tabliſhing of our Conſtitution is far from " being any obſtacle to the employment of " our forces. Beſides, we cannot be ignorant " that both gratitude and our own intereſt

" dictate

" dictate to us on this occaſion a conduct,
" of which Spain has ſet us an example
" whenever we have been concerned.

" The King intends to uſe every means
" in his power to effect a reconciliation
" between the Courts of Madrid and
" London, which he ardently wiſhes. His
" Majeſty is too well acquainted with the
" juſtice and moderation of the King of
" Spain, not to be perſuaded that he will
" readily liſten to every mode of conciliation
" compatible with the dignity and real
" intereſt of his Crown. The diſpoſition
" teſtified by the Court of St. James's gives
" equal hopes that on their ſide they will
" require nothing but what is conformable
" to juſtice and mutual convenience.

" The King has ordered me to declare to
" his Britannic Majeſty, the full ſenſe he
" has of the friendly communication made
" by him through his Ambaſſador here;
" and to give him the ſtrongeſt and moſt
" poſitive aſſurances of his extreme deſire
" that the harmony between the two Nations
" ſhould not be diſturbed, either on this oc-
" caſion or on any other.

" In fine, whatever be his Majeſty's con-
" fidence in the efforts of a great Nation,

" which certainly would not allow the firſt " moments of its regeneration to be ſtained by " a conduct that ſhould reflect diſgrace on the " National honour, he is ſo ſhocked at the " miſeries of every kind attendant on war, " that he will ſpare no trouble to avoid it. " The King would feel inexpreſſible ſorrow " at ſeeing the Nation involved in it; and it " is entirely for the purpoſe of averting ſuch " a misfortune that his Majeſty thinks it " neceſſary for him to ſend to his different " ports the orders which I had the honour " of making known to you at the begin- " ning of this letter. The object of them " will neceſſarily require ſome extraordinary " ſupply for the Navy. His Majeſty is too " well convinced of the patriotiſm of the " Repreſentatives of the Nation to doubt " for a moment their readineſs to vote the " ſupplies, when a ſtatement of what may " be required is laid before them."

This letter was ſcarcely read, when ſeveral members of the Aſſembly roſe at the ſame time to ſpeak; but they were informed by the Preſident that the precedence had been already beſpoken by a great number; and that the liſt was drawn up, containing nearly twenty names. Thoſe who were not included

included wondered, and were angry that twenty perſons could have made up their minds on a ſubject with which the Aſſembly had not been acquainted. *Mirabeau* did not allow this opportunity to eſcape of declaiming againſt the mode of liſts, which he pretended had been invented only to enſure precedence to miniſterial men. This pitiful altercation between the ſpeakers inſcribed on the liſt and thoſe who were not, took up the whole of the Sitting. On the next day the Duke *de Biron* moved, that the Preſident ſhould wait upon the King and thank him for the meaſures he had taken for the ſecurity of the empire and its commerce, and for the negotiations he had opened; and that his Majeſty ſhould be requeſted to order a ſtatement to be laid before the Aſſembly of what would be requiſite for the ſervice of the navy.

Alexander de Lameth took a much more extenſive view of the queſtion. "We muſt "know," ſaid he, "we muſt decide firſt "of all, whether the Aſſembly be compe- "tent, or whether the Sovereign Nation "ought or not to delegate to the King the "right of making peace or war. This "queſtion ſhould be ſettled of courſe be-

" fore that relative to circumſtances inci-
" dental to it, or you would pre-ſuppoſe
" it; and the Miniſter ſufficiently declares
" it in his letter. I am of opinion, that if
" you confine yourſelves to granting the
" required ſupplies, the Nation may be led
" beyond the bounds which prudence
" ſhould preſcribe. Before we decide we
" ſhould be made acquainted with all the
" circumſtances, and know what has gone
" before. Muſt not the Nation be uneaſy
" when the Miniſtry employ, at the Court
" whoſe affairs now occupy us, that man,
" that Miniſter, who was called to the
" Council when the National Aſſembly
" was ſurrounded by bayonets *? It is poſ-
" ſible that there may be reaſons for declar-
" ing war; it is poſſible too that there may
" be arrangements forming among different
" Courts, for it is the cauſe of Kings againſt
" Nations. The National Aſſembly ought
" to know on what account theſe prepara-
" tions are making; they ought to examine
" whether they can or cannot delegate the
" right of making war and peace: though

* The Duke *de la Vauguyon*, then Ambaſſador at Madrid.

" the

" the queſtion cannot be very doubtful in " this Aſſembly. Are we entitled to intruſt " the dreadful right of cauſing blood to be " ſpilled, of ſending thouſands of citizens " far from their homes, and of venturing " the National property? I move that we " firſt decide this Conſtitutional queſ- " tion."

This motion, grounded upon inſinuations ſo ſenſeleſs if they were ſincere, or ſo perfidious if they were the language of faction, was eagerly ſupported, not only by the *Barnaves*, the *Rewbells*, and the *Robeſpierres*, but alſo by *M. d'Aiguillon*, *M. de Broglio*, and *M. de Menou*. *Mirabeau* was the firſt who dared to oppoſe it, and who refuted it with the greateſt force. He demonſtrated it to be unreaſonable and inconſiſtent, becauſe the King's meſſage did not at all relate to a declaration of war, and might ſtill exiſt, if it were even decided that the right of making peace and war belonged to the Nation alone, as the right of arming and preparing for ſudden occaſions was not only the right but the duty of the Supreme Agent of the National will. " If," added he, " Miniſterial manœuvres con- " cealed projects againſt the Nation, it

" would at moſt be a conſpiracy of pigmies: " nobody can think that fourteen ſhips put " into commiſſion would be alarming to " the Conſtitution. Thus, if the Conſti- " tutional queſtion were decided, the King " might do what he has done, he might " take the meaſures he has taken, attended " always with the reſponſibility of the Mi- " niſters." After much debating, in the courſe of which he frequently roſe to refute the objections of his antagoniſts, the Aſſembly decreed almoſt unanimouſly: " that the " Preſident ſhould wait upon the King to " thank his Majeſty for the meaſures he " had taken to maintain peace, and that " the Conſtitutional queſtion relative to the " delegation of the right of making peace " and war ſhould be taken into conſidera- " tion the very next day."

To conceive the poſſibility of doubting, under a Monarchical Government, that the right of making peace and war ſhould be delegated to the King, it was abſolutely neceſſary to be in the ſecret of the authors of the New Conſtitution, and to keep in mind, that it was only through prudence, and out of reſpect to the attachment which the Nation ſtill had for the Monarchy and the King,

King, that they had given the title of *Monarchical Government* to that form which they intended to impoſe on France; but that in reality this title was but the maſk of the *Democratical Ariſtocracy* which they were organizing, and by which the Monarch, ſunk into the claſs of public Officers, was, in his quality of *King*, to be only the prime Agent and paſſive Inſtrument of an Aſſembly of Repreſentatives of the People inveſted with the plenitude of the ſupreme authority: an authority already excluſively exerciſed by them; for it was but too evident that the *Veto*, or right of ſanction delegated to the King, was no more than an obligation to ſanction, under pain of being compelled to it by the moſt ſerious outrages.

This ſyſtem, which though not avowed was ill diſſembled, appeared more openly in the debates relative to the delegation of the right of making peace and war. "You "have acknowledged," ſaid the Duke *d'Aiguillon*, in the Sitting of the 16th of May, "that all the powers belong to the "Nation; of courſe then the right of mak- "ing peace and war belongs to it. If I "might be allowed to quote a well known "anecdote,

" anecdote, I would put you in mind that " *Louis XIV.* obſerving one of the win- " dows of Trianon to be placed awry, " threw himſelf into a very great rage.— " *Louvois* the Miniſter and Surveyor-Gene- " ral ſaid to his confidants, The King at- " tends to things of too trifling a nature— " he muſt have more important occupa- " tions. War was kindled! The blood of " Frenchmen flowed!—and for what? For " the window of Trianon. The whims of " Miſtreſſes, and the ambition of Miniſters, " would thus then decide the fate of the " Nation. This impropriety alone, even if " contrary to principle, would be enough " to determine the queſtion. My opinion " therefore is, that the right of making " peace and war reſides fully and exclu- " ſively in the Legiſlative Body."

Charles de Lameth alſo maintained, that the impoſſibility of delegating to the King the right of making peace and war, was the neceſſary conſequence of the principles already decreed. " That right," ſaid he, " is " the manifeſtation of the general wiſh of " the Nation, now is it the King who can " expreſs this wiſh? A manifeſto of war " is like the hanging out of the bloody- " flag

" flag in a city: it is the citizens elected
" by the people who are to declare, that ac-
" cording to the will of the people, and for
" the general ſafety, the public force is to
" be employed againſt the enemies of peace:
" ſo it is with a declaration of war—it is to
" the Legiſlative Body—it is to the grand
" Municipality that it belongs to make it.
" It is painful to Frenchmen to recollect
" circumſtances injurious to the glory of
" *Henry IV.*; but at the time that France,
" by a horrid crime, loſt the beſt of Kings,
" that Monarch was about to ſet Europe
" in flames for the poſſeſſion of the Princeſs
" of *Condé*."

Here the Abbé *Maury*, being irritated, called to him in a loud voice, " that it was " a malicious aſperſion."

M. de Lameth complained of being interrupted, repeated his aſſertion, and referred to hiſtorical vouchers, and to *Sully's* Memoirs, in anſwer to whatever contradictions he had yet to meet with. He then entered upon a diſcuſſion of the motives that threw very great ſuſpicion upon the preparations for this war, which he conſidered as already declared, and which he attempted to repreſent as a conſpiracy plotted by the powers

powers concerned in it. "You cannot but "know," ſaid he, "the ties of Spain.— "You are aware that our Conſtitution ter- "rifies tyrants. You are acquainted with "the ſteps taken by Spain to prevent the "introduction of French publications into "its dominions. A coalition is formed be- "tween a Power that dreads the Revolution "for itſelf, a Power that wiſhes to annihi- "late our Conſtitution, and a Family that "may be actuated by private conſiderations. "They want to diſcredit the aſſignats, to "prevent the ſale of the eccleſiaſtical pro- "perty, and to reſtore the old order of "things. If you declare that the King "can make war, the Conſtitution will be "attacked and may be deſtroyed. The "Kingdom will be drenched with blood in "every quarter. If an army is aſſembled, "it will be the refuge of thoſe whom our "juſtice has made diſcontented. The rich, "for it is the rich who are the diſcontented— "they have enriched themſelves from "abuſes, and you have drained the odious "ſource of their opulence—the rich will "employ all their means to ſpread and "maintain commotion and diſorder: but "they ſhall not conquer; for if they have "gold

" gold we have iron, and know how to " make uſe of it."

At this menacing flouriſh addreſſed to the rich, the poor and miſerable creatures that were heaped upon one another in the galleries, no doubt conſidering themſelves as the *grand* Conſtituents of *Charles de Lameth*, ſeconded his aſſertions by the loudeſt plaudits.

May 17th.] *M. de Sillery*, profeſſing the ſame principles, diſplayed them in the following eloquent proſopopœia: " If you " grant the King the right of making war, " attend to the reproaches you have to ex- " pect from the Nation. We had eſcaped " from ſlavery, and you have plunged us " back again into it: you decreed that the " Sovereignty reſided eſſentially in the Na- " tion, and yet we obey the will of a ſingle " man. You promiſed to reſtore us our " rights, and you made us acquainted with " them only to ſnatch them away immedi- " ately. Have you relieved us from the " ambition of Monarchs? Will you cauſe " our blood to flow, without even deigning " to inform us of the motive for which we " are to fight? The Nation is free and ſo- " vereign; and if you forget its rights,

" four-

" four-and-twenty millions of men will aſ-
" ſert them."

Pethion de Villeneuve, aſcending to the origin of the Monarchy, there ſaw, or thought he there ſaw, the people taking up arms only in conſequence of having themſelves reſolved it, and laying them down only in conſequence of being victorious. " All the " warriors," ſaid he, " concurred in grant-" ing peace to the enemy. In later times " the Kings could never make war without " the aſſent of the Counts and Barons.— " From 1356 to 1614 the Repreſentatives " of the Nation in the States-General de-" bated on peace and war, on treaties and " alliances. The States-General vaniſhed, " and in their place appeared a phantom of " power. The judicial bodies appointed by " the King were ſubſtituted for the Na-" tional Court formed by the People. " Then Kings no longer liſtened to aught " but their ambition, their paſſions, and " the unruly deſire of vain-glory; and thus " committed the happineſs and lives of the " people, without conſulting them. Take a " view of all thoſe treaties, or thoſe politi-" cal crimes, and you will ſee every page " ſtained

" ſtained with the blood which the people
" have ſhed. Judge what may make a
" deſpot impetuous and inhuman: he will
" ſtir up a war among his neighbours for the
" purpoſe of acquiring money—with that
" money he will corrupt the army—he will
" return a conqueror of foreign Nations—
" and he will enſlave the people, who will
" proſtrate themſelves before the victorious
" hero. It is ſaid that ſupplies may be
" refuſed:—Why not prevent the evil ra-
" ther than be driven to ſeek a cure for it?
" Can the Executive Power have the right
" of thus hazarding the fate of Empires?
" It has not a right to make the ſimpleſt
" law:—Why give it that of making trea-
" ties, the conſequences of which are ſo
" important? &c."

May 18th.] " To determine that the King
" ſhould have the right of making peace
" and war," ſaid *Rewbell*, " is to deter-
" mine to unite will and action, the law
" and its execution; it is to confound all
" the powers. Treaties of alliance are
" nothing more than the right of levying
" taxes, and of exhauſting the treaſures of
" the State: to grant this right to the King
" is to give him conſtitutionally the right

" of

" of ſelling men like cattle. The Nation " ſhould confide theſe dangerous rights only " to their Repreſentatives; they will always " have the ſame intereſt, whereas the Mi- " niſters will never feel other intereſts than " thoſe of the Court, of money, and of " ambition. You have declared that all " men are equal in rights. There is no " club ſufficiently weighty to hammer theſe " principles into the heads of the Mini- " ſters; they will ever conſider Princes as " every thing, or in other words—men as " nothing."

May 19th.] The danger of delegating the right of making peace and war, alſo alarmed *M. de Crillon*, *M. Beauharnois*, *M. Menou*, *M. Freteau*, and *M. St. Fargeau.*—Neither the power of refuſing ſupplies, nor the example of England, could ſatisfy *M. St. Fargeau.* " The proſperity of the " Engliſh," ſaid he, " gives a value to their " inſtitutions. They reſigned the right of " making war on two principles: — " 1ſt. Situated on an iſland, they had no- " thing to apprehend from foreign at- " tempts, and there is little danger in naval " forces to public liberty. 2dly. Their form " of Government makes the preſervation of " this

"this right impoſſible; the principle of "their power reſides in the Parliament, "that is to ſay, in the Houſe of Com- "mons and in the Houſe of Lords. Each "of theſe houſes is inveſted with a VETO; "ſo that their Conſtitution gives room to a "temporary inaction; and the right of mak- "ing war can only be confided to a power "ever active, and whoſe determinations "nothing can ſtop. In France, on the con- "trary, the unity of the Legiſlative Body "is a reaſon for confiding this right to "them, as being the leaſt capable of abuſ- "ing it."

In quoting the moſt ſpecious arguments and remarkable paſſages of the ſpeeches againſt the Royal prerogative, I have ſtated the names of the ſpeakers, and the dates of the Sittings in which they ſpoke, that the ſcrupulous accuracy of my quotations may be proved by the minutes of the Aſſembly, and the moſt creditable journals of the times. There too will be found the ſpeeches of the many defenders of the Monarchy: thoſe of *M. M. Cazalès*, the Archbiſhop of *Aix*, *Maury*, *Clermont Tonnerre*, and others, are admirable; but they are too long to be given entire, and to extract would be to weaken

them. Beſides, the mere light of reaſon ſuggeſts the grounds of national intereſt and the principles of public law on which this great queſtion ought to have been decided. The power of the ſword, which is an eſſential attribute of Monarchy, was inſeparable from the executive power delegated to the King; for it conſiſts in the employment of the armed force for the protection both of national and private property, to maintain the public peace againſt its enemies as well domeſtic as foreign, and conſequently to enforce the execution of treaties as effectually as of all the laws of the State. It was as eaſy to demonſtrate theſe truths as to unfold the ſecret views of the party who diſputed them. This *M. Cazalès* did in a nervous ſtrain, and in one ſingle expreſſion of his ſpeech tore off the perfidious maſk under which the Conſtitutionaliſts of the day concealed themſelves. "You have already," ſaid he, "taken from the King two of his "prerogatives, the adminiſtration of domeſ-"tic police, and the adminiſtration of juſ-"tice; take away the third, and we ſhall "have to impart a great ſecret to the Na-"tion, namely, that there is no longer a "King."

I cannot

I cannot refrain from alſo ſhowing with what energy and dignity the attack upon the memory of *Henry IV.* was repelled.

" You have been told," cried *M. de Montlauſier*, " that *Henry IV.* at the time " of his aſſaſſination was about to kindle " a flame throughout Europe for the poſ- " ſeſſion of the Princeſs of *Condé!* Thus " is it that contemptible orators who now " figure in our patriotic clubs, the baſe flat- " terers of popular tyranny, as they had " been of Kings, endeavour to ſhed their " poiſon on ſuch characters as *Marcus Au-* " *relius.* It is on the horrible crime of " *Ravaillac* that they pretend to give you " conſolation."

" Permit me," ſaid the Abbé *Maury*, " permit a Repreſentative of the Nation, " for *Henry's* glory to recall a grand thought " to your minds. No: he was not about to " ſet Europe in flames for the gratification " of a headſtrong paſſion; he was about to " execute a project which he had been me- " ditating for twenty-one years, which he " had concerted with the Queen of England, " which for a long time he was not able to " impreſs on his friend *Sully*, and which " that *Sully* afterwards acknowledged to be

" eaſy, juſt, and glorious: he was about " to form Europe into a grand confederacy. " In this we find the reaſon of the expreſſion " written by *Henry IV.* the day before his " death: '*If I live to ſee Monday, on* " *Monday my glory commences!*' But on " Friday a monſter deprived the French of " their father, and deluged France with " tears which not two centuries have been " able to dry."

In ſpite of the efforts of the Royal party, the great queſtion on the delegation of the right of making peace and war, which was debated in ſeven ſucceſſive Sittings, would have been decided by a great majority againſt the King, had not *Mirabeau*, ſeparating himſelf from the crowd of popular ſpeakers, diſplayed all his powers of eloquence and reaſoning againſt their ſyſtem. After demonſtrating the inconſiſtency and danger of placing the right of making peace and war in the Legiſlative Body, he propoſed a middle courſe. " Are we," ſaid he, " confined to add this right excluſively " to either the Legiſlative or Executive " Power? Is it impoſſible to make the two " powers which conſtitute the National " force and repreſent its wiſdom, concur in " directing

" directing one of the functions of the Go-
" vernment, which depends at once on
" action and will, on execution and deli-
" beration, to the ſame end? Is it impoſſi-
" ble to reſtrain the old abuſes of royalty
" without palſying the public force? Is it
" impoſſible to know the wiſh of the Na-
" tion reſpecting war and peace by the ſu-
" preme organ of a Repreſentative Aſſembly,
" without bringing upon us the diſadvan-
" tages we diſcover in that part of the pub-
" lic law in the ancient republics, and in
" ſome of the modern States of Europe?
" In ſhort, ought we not to fix the right of
" making peace and war jointly in the two
" Powers?"

Under this new point of view *Mirabeau* examined the queſtion: he diſcuſſed it thoroughly—refuted the arguments of the chief ſpeakers on both ſides of the houſe who had ſpoken before him, and concluded with moving, " That the Aſſembly adopt, as
" Conſtitutional Articles, that the right of
" making peace and war belonged to the
" Nation, and that the exerciſe of it ſhould
" be delegated jointly to the Legiſlative and
" Executive Powers."

From the articles of this motion there reſulted, 1ſt. That the King could declare war; but that it could not be continued without the conſent of the Legiſlative Body, who might refuſe the neceſſary funds for carrying it on. 2dly, That the King might enter into all ſuch agreements with foreign powers as he ſhould judge neceſſary for the good of the State; but that treaties of peace, of alliance, or of commerce, could be carried into execution only ſo far as they ſhould be ratified by the Legiſlative Body.

This project reduced the rights of the Monarch too much to pleaſe the Royaliſts entirely, and left him enough to rouſe the indignation of the Democrats. *Mirabeau* was inſtantly denounced to the people as a deſerter, and a traitor to the country; while praiſes, plaudits, and the honours of triumph were laviſhed on the moſt furious ſpeakers of the *Coté-Gauche*. One of them, *Barnave*, undertook to refute, article by article, the plan propoſed, and in the conteſt diſplayed more talents than thoſe who had ſpoken before him on the ſame ſide; for, although he ſaid nothing which had not been ſaid before, he ably ſelected their moſt ſpecious argu-

ments, and applied them in the beſt way to make an impreſſion. He ſo completely ſucceeded, that there was a call for the queſtion, to be inſtantly put to the vote; and there is no doubt, if it had been at that moment, that he would have had a great majority for his opinion: but *M. de Cazalès* and *Mirabeau* oppoſed the cloſing of the debate, and the Aſſembly agreed to their requeſt of adjourning the queſtion till next day, and of then deciding it before they broke up.

Mirabeau, ſtripped of his popularity, diſcredited with his party, and without a hope of obtaining the ſlighteſt confidence with the Royaliſts, would in future have played but an inſignificant part in the Revolution if he had failed in ſo ſtriking a circumſtance: his motions, his ſupport, his harangues, ſo often ſold to the higheſt bidder, would no longer have found purchaſers; he was therefore expected to diſplay all his means and reſources in the next Sitting, to obtain a victory as important to his intereſt as flattering to his ſelf-love, and the expectation was not diſappointed. The talent of reply was that in which he chiefly excelled all the other ſpeakers of the Aſſembly, and he employed it on this occaſion with the completeſt ſuc-

ceſs, turning into ridicule both the inſults he had received and the popular honours beſtowed on his opponents. "And me too," ſaid he, "me, a few days ago, they wanted "to carry in triumph, and now they are "hawking about the ſtreets, THE GRAND "TREASON OF COUNT MIRABEAU! I "had no need of this leſſon to learn that "the diſtance was ſhort between the Capi-"tol and the Tarpeian Rock; but the man "who contends for reaſon and his country "does not feel himſelf ſo eaſily overcome. "He who is conſcious of having deſerved "well of his country, and eſpecially of "being ſtill uſeful to it; he who is not "puffed up with vain celebrity, and who "for real glory deſpiſes the triumphs of a "day; he who determines to ſpeak truth, "who determines to purſue the public good "independently of all motives ariſing in "popular opinion; that man carries with "him the reward of his ſervices, the balm "of his cares, and the prize of his dangers: "he is not to look for his harveſt, his fate, "the only fate he cares about, that of his "name, but from Time, that incorruptible "judge who does juſtice to all. Let thoſe "who foretold my opinion a week ago

"without

" without knowing it, and who now aſperſe
" my ſpeech without having underſtood it,
" accuſe me of worſhipping impotent idols
" juſt as they are thrown down, or of being
" the baſe hireling of thoſe whom I have
" never ceaſed oppoſing; let them denounce
" as an enemy of the Revolution a man who
" perhaps has not been uſeleſs in it, and
" who, had it nothing to do with his fame,
" could without it have no hope of his
" ſafety; let them give up to the rage of a
" deluded people him who for twenty
" years has been combating all oppreſſions,
" and who was ſpeaking to the French of
" liberty, of a conſtitution, of reſiſtance,
" while theſe mean ſlanderers were ſubject
" to all the prevailing prejudices. What is
" it to me? They may ſtab me as they will,
" they ſhall not impede my courſe. I will
" ſtill ſay to them, Anſwer me if you can,
" then abuſe me as much as you pleaſe. I
" enter the liſts, then, ſupported by my prin-
" ciples alone, and the firmneſs of my con-
" ſcience, &c."

Mirabeau then went over the different objections of *Barnave*, completely refuted them all, and concluded with perſiſting in his motion with an amendment made by *Chapelier*.

Chapelier. He did not deny but that inconveniences might reſult from it: "But ſuch," ſaid he, "is the lot of all human inſtitu-
"tions. Do you mean to ſay, that a Govern-
"ment made by men for men can be free
"from inconveniences? Do you mean,
"becauſe there are dangers in Royalty, to
"make us renounce all the advantages of
"Royalty? Speak out then, and let us ſet
"about debating, whether becauſe fire burns
"we ſhall renounce the heat and light we
"borrow from it, or not: every thing may
"afford an argument except a downright
"contradiction; tell us at once that there is
"no need of a King, but do not tell us that
"there is need only of a uſeleſs King."

Barnave would have replied; but the Aſſembly cloſed the debate, and, by a very great majority, adopted the motion made by *Mirabeau*, which was rendered popular by the concurrence of *M. de la Fayette*, who ſupported it with ſome very emphatic expreſſions he thought it proper to write, and of which the following are ſome of the moſt ſtriking:

"I find in this plan that diſtribution of
"powers which appears to me the beſt
"adapted to the true conſtitutional princi-

" ples of Liberty and the Monarchy, the
" propereſt to avert the ſcourge of war,
" and the moſt advantageous to the Nation.
" At a moment when there ſeems to be an
" inclination to miſlead the people reſpect-
" ing this complicated queſtion, when thoſe
" who have ever united for the popular
" cauſe now differ in opinion, ſtill adopt-
" ing nearly the ſame grounds; at this mo-
" ment when an attempt is made to perſuade
" them that thoſe only are their true friends
" who vote for a particular decree, I think
" it right that a different opinion ſhould be
" plainly declared by a man on whom ex-
" perience and ſome labour in the career of
" liberty have beſtowed a right to have
" an opinion. I think I cannot better diſ-
" charge the immenſe debt I have con-
" tracted with the Nation, than by reſolv-
" ing not to ſacrifice to the popularity of a
" day the opinion which I believe to be
" more uſeful to it. It is my wiſh that
" theſe few words ſhould be written, that
" the inſinuations of calumny may find no
" avenue to the great duty I am performing
" towards the Nation to which my whole
" life is devoted."

The

The Aſſembly broke up at ſix o'clock at night with the loud applauſes of the Members, and ſhouts of joy from the ſpectators. The Decree which was the reſult of theſe debates was as follows:

"The National Aſſembly decree as articles of the Conſtitution,

"1ſt. That the right of making peace and war belongs to the Nation. War can only be decided by a decree of the National Aſſembly, which ſhall be paſſed in conſequence of a formal and requiſite propoſal by the King, and which ſhall be ſanctioned by them.

"2dly. The care of attending to the external ſecurity of the Kingdom, and of maintaining its rights and poſſeſſions, is delegated by the Conſtitution to the King: he alone can form political connections abroad, conduct negotiations, appoint the agents of them, make preparations for war proportionate to thoſe of the neighbouring States, regulate the army and navy as he ſhall judge right, and have the management of them in caſe of war.

"3dly. In caſes of hoſtilities threatened or

or commenced, of an ally to ſupport, or of a right to be maintained by force of arms, the King ſhall be bound to give notice of them without delay to the Legiſlative Body, with the cauſes and motives for them; and if the Legiſlative Body ſhould not be aſſembled at the time, it ſhall be immediately convened.

" 4thly. On ſuch notice, if the Legiſlative Body are of opinion that the hoſtilities commenced are a culpable aggreſſion on the part of the Miniſters or other agents of the Executive Power, the author of the aggreſſion ſhall be proſecuted for treaſon againſt the Nation; as the National Aſſembly declare to this effect, that the French Nation renounces all thoughts of undertaking any war with the view of making conqueſts, and that it will never employ its forces againſt the liberty of any Nation.

" 5thly. On the ſame notice, if the Legiſlative Body decide that war ought not to be made, the Executive Power ſhall be bound to take immediate meaſures to put an end to or prevent hoſtilities, the Miniſters ſtanding reſponſible for all delays.

" 6thly. Every declaration of war ſhall be made in theſe terms: ON THE PART OF THE

THE KING OF THE FRENCH, AND IN THE NAME OF THE NATION.

" 7thly. Throughout the war, the Legiſlative Body may require the Executive Power to negotiate peace; and the Executive Power ſhall be bound to yield to ſuch requeſt.

" 8thly. At the concluſion of war, the Legiſlative Body ſhall determine the time for diſbanding the number of troops levied for the war, and reducing the army to a peace eſtabliſhment: the pay of the ſaid extraordinary troops ſhall be continued only to that time; after which if they remain aſſembled the Miniſter ſhall be reſponſible, and ſhall be proſecuted for treaſon againſt the Nation.

" 9thly, It ſhall be the part of the King to conclude with foreign powers all treaties of peace, of alliance, and of commerce, and other conventions which he ſhall judge neceſſary for the good of the Nation, and to ſign the ſame; but the treaties and conventions ſhall have effect only ſo far as they ſhall be ratified by the Legiſlative Body."

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXV.

Violent Inſurrections and Aſſaſſinations at Niſmes, Marſeilles, Valence, Montauban, and other Places—A Commotion at Paris excited by the Jacobins againſt the Club known by the Name of the Salon-Français, and againſt the Deputies who had joined in the Capuchins' Church to ſign a Proteſt—The Populace hang Three Thieves—M. de la Fayette forces a Man who was already tied to a Rope at the Lantern out of the Hands of the People — Conſtitutional Proclamation by the King—The Aſſembly enraptured ſend a Deputation to his Majeſty—Debate on the Conſtitution of the Clergy—A ſpeculative Sketch of the State of the Finances addreſſed to the Aſſembly

Aſſembly by Mr. Necker—Revolt of ſome Regiments—The Royal Family go to St. Cloud—The Aſſembly requeſt the King himſelf to fix his Civil Liſt—His Majeſty's Reply—Decree.

THE queſtion relative to the right of making peace and war was certainly of great importance to the Aſſembly; that right being almoſt the only one remaining to be uſurped to place all thoſe which conſtituted ſovereignty in their hands: but with reſpect to the King, the diſcuſſion was evidently nothing more than a vain diſpute of words; for, even according to the ſyſtem of the moſt zealous defenders of the Royal Prerogative, the Legiſlative Body was to retain the power of refuſing the means of ſupporting war; ſo that the power of declaring it being ſevered from the means of carrying it on, and never to be exerciſed but with the conſent of the Aſſembly, was a right abſolutely illuſory and ideal. The ſame may be ſaid of that ſupreme Executive Power, pompouſly delegated to the King after the annihilation of all the means neceſſary to exerciſe it; and indeed the ſpirit of rebellion and anarchy, emboldened by impunity, was every day making

ing freſh progreſs; never, from the beginning of the Revolution, had ſeditious commotions, inſurrections, or aſſaſſinations, been ſo numerous as they were in the courſe of the month of May 1790.

At Niſmes ſome ſoldiers of the National Guard having put the white cockade into their hats, and one of them being inſulted by a ſoldier of the Regiment of Guyenne, who tore out his cockade and trod it under foot, a quarrel enſued. Several of the National Guard joined the men of the Regiment of Guyenne, who had come up to the ſuccour of their comrade, the battle became furious, and the Municipal Officers appeared and ſeparated the combatants. This event made an uproar in the town, which had for ſome time been violently agitated by the fears of the Catholics and the hopes of the Proteſtants, on the ſubject of the Decrees already paſſed relative to Religion and the Clergy. In the night, bands of men, armed with pikes, bludgeons, and torches, traverſed the ſtreets, notwithſtanding the patrols had been doubled. Martial law being proclaimed next day put an end to the diſorder, but there was a dread of its being renewed every inſtant. Baron *de Marguerittes*, a

Member of the Aſſembly, and Mayor of Niſmes, where he then happened to be on leave, had on the 2d of May invited two companies of the National Guard to breakfaſt at his houſe, as they had paid him the compliment the day before of erecting a May-pole at his gate, and it was at the concluſion of this breakfaſt that the quarrel above-mentioned had taken place. Nothing more was wanting to create a ſuſpicion of *M. de Marguerittes'* having fomented or encouraged it; and on this ground alone he was formally accuſed in an addreſs from the Jacobin Club of Niſmes to the Aſſembly; who, notwithſtanding the reſpect due to one of their Members who was generally eſteemed, ordered, without any farther explanation, that he ſhould appear at their bar without delay, to give an account of his conduct and of that of the Municipality of Niſmes, relative to the commotions in that town. The hearing of the buſineſs was referred to the Committee of Inquiry, and the Preſident of the Aſſembly was charged to wait upon the King to requeſt him not to remove the Regiment of Guyenne from Niſmes.

Baron *Marguerittes* obeyed the order, and completely juſtified himſelf.

At Marſeilles the National Guard ſeized upon all the forts, from which they drove the troops of the line, and maſſacred the Chevalier *de Beauſſet*, Major of the Garriſon, to whom they imputed the feeble reſiſtance which fort St. John had made.

At Montpellier alſo the National Volunteers drove out the troops of the line, and took poſſeſſion of the citadel.

At Valence the Viſcount *de Voiſins*, who had been induced by ſeditious appearances to add fifty men to the picket guards, and to cauſe the *Generale* to be beaten, was accuſed by the People of having ſent a ſoldier to priſon for having ſaid that he would not fire on his fellow-citizens. The Municipal Officers, compelled to go to *M. de Voiſins'* houſe to aſk the motives of theſe proceedings, were accompanied thither by an immenſe crowd, who dragged him out and carried him to a church, where he mounted upon a chair to juſtify himſelf: but he had hardly got down, when, in ſpite of the efforts made by the Municipal Officers to protect him, the mob fell upon him and maſſacred him. To palliate this horrid crime, a great many copies of a counter-revolutionary letter, pretended to be found in his pocket after

his death, were diſtributed, and one of theſe copies, not ſigned, was ſent to the Aſſembly; but the original letter never appeared, nor did any one ever declare that he had ſeen it.

Commotions ſimilar to thoſe which agitated Niſmes broke out at Montauban, but with much more violence, and ſoon aſſumed all the characteriſtics of a civil war between the Catholics and Proteſtants. The Catholics were protected by the majority of the people and a battalion of National Guards, and the Proteſtants by three other battalions of National Guards and the garriſon. The two parties that divided the town only waited an opportunity to proceed to blows. The day on which the Municipal Officers were to go to the Convent of Cordeliers, to take the inventory ordered by the Aſſembly, being appointed, ſix hundred women armed with ſwords and clubs made their way to the door of the convent before the Municipality, and forced them to retire. At this time the Proteſtants and National Dragoons in diſguiſe went with their arms to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and took poſſeſſion of it. The news of this being brought to the Cordeliers, where the people were ſtill aſſembled, they ſet out furiouſly and ran to the *Hotel-de-*

de-Ville. Many Gentlemen mixed with the multitude, and uſed their utmoſt endeavours to calm them. When they arrived they drew their ſwords, but without commencing the attack; the battle began by a volley which the dragoons fired upon them, and by which three perſons were wounded. The entrance of the *Hotel-de-Ville* was immediately forced by the people, four dragoons were killed on the ſpot, eight mortally wounded, and not one would have eſcaped, had not the Regiment of Languedoc come up to defend them and place them under the protection of the Nobility. Martial Law was proclaimed, and the Municipality cauſed the houſes of the Proteſtants to be ſearched, and the arms and ammunition found in them to be ſeized. Such of them as appeared in the ſtreets were inſulted and beaten. The National cockade was abandoned. The National Guards of Bourdeaux ſent a detachment of 1500 men to ſupport thoſe of Montauban, and it was declared, that thoſe of Toulouſe were going to ſend a much ſtronger one to the aſſiſtance of the people.

At Caſtres, Perpignan, Pau, and through great part of Alſace, the ſale of the pro-

perty of the Clergy created the moſt alarming commotions.

At Toulon the workmen of the Arſenal mutinied againſt their Officers, one of whom, *M. de Chaulet*, was thrice wounded with a ſword, and twice with a bayonet. In this port, as in thoſe of Breſt and Rochefort, the plunder of the Arſenals was carried on in the name of the Nation and of Liberty, and every act of diſorder was termed an act of patriotiſm.

Nor was the Capital in a more tranquil ſtate. The Jacobin Club, that powerful and ſtaunch auxiliary of the *Coté-Gauche* of the Aſſembly, employed their agents in ſtirring up inſurrections againſt the club or aſſociation of Royaliſts which had been formed under the title of the *Salon Français*, and againſt the Deputies who had in great numbers joined with the Capuchins in ſigning a proteſt againſt the Decree of the 14th of April, relative to the property of the Clergy. The Chatelet, where the proceedings reſpecting the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October were ſtill aſſiduouſly carried on, was alſo the object of the moſt atrocious calumnies, and ſuch as were the moſt adapted to excite the ſuſpicions and reſentment of the people

people againſt the members of it. Thefts becoming daily more frequent, that Court was accuſed in ſeveral pamphlets of encouraging the thieves, not only by releaſing them too eaſily, but by hiring them to continue their depredations and inceſſant moleſtation of the citizens; and the people firmly believing theſe abſurdities, murmured loudly againſt them. "They were in this frame of mind, when five thieves, who had been dining at a tavern near the King's garden, went off with ſome of the plate belonging to the tavern-keeper, who diſcovering the theft purſued them. They paſſed the river in a ſmall boat, and two eſcaped, but three were taken: a crowd gathered, the thieves were ſearched, and the ſilver ſpoons and forks found upon them. They were carried before a Magiſtrate, who, having taken down their examination, was going to ſend them to the Chatelet: however, it was ſaid they boaſted *that they ſhould ſoon come out, and with money in their pockets too;* which exaſperated the people, who, tearing them from the guard, hanged them immediately, and carried their rage to ſuch exceſs, that, the rope breaking with the laſt man, they

cudgelled him to death. The next day a man was caught ſtealing a ſack of corn on the quay *de la Féraille*, and the people immediately hanged him at a lantern. *M. de la Fayette* happened to be paſſing at the time, and went up to the ſpot with an officer, who cut the rope while the General harangued the multitude. Some villains among the crowd crying out, *Hang away! hang away! don't hear him!* *M. de la Fayette* ſeized one of them, and dragged him with his own hands to priſon, ſaying, that it was always honourable to obey the law, and give it every aſſiſtance. But the wretch whom he had ſaved from the lantern died the night following from the bruiſe he had received in his fall, and the blows the mob had given him.

The King was the more affected at the troubles that afflicted the Kingdom, as they placed him in a moſt embarraſſing and cruel dilemma. If he had declared himſelf in favour of the Royal party, a civil war would have been the immediate effect, and of all calamities *that* awakened the greateſt horror in his mind. Nor could he avoid it but by humbling and weakening his own party,

party, which unfortunately he determined to do, and in conſequence ſent the following Proclamation to the Aſſembly:

Never were there circumſtances that more imperiouſly called upon all Frenchmen to unite with one ſpirit, to rally with courage about the Law, and to aid with all their power the eſtabliſhment of the Conſtitution. We have neglected no means of inſpiring all the citizens with theſe ſentiments; we have ourſelves ſet them the moſt unequivocal example of confidence in the Repreſentatives of the Nation, and of an unvarying inclination for whatever may tend to the happineſs of our ſubjects, and the proſperity of France.

"Can it then be poſſible that there are men, enemies to the public good, who are ſtill endeavouring to diſturb the important labours in which the Aſſembly are engaged, in concert with ourſelves, for ſecuring the rights of the People, and for laying the foundation of their happineſs? that there are men attempting to agitate the minds of others, either by vain terrors and falſe interpretations of

the

" the Decrees of the National Aſſembly,
" which have been accepted and ſanctioned
" by us; or by undertaking to raiſe doubts
" as unfounded as injurious reſpecting our
" intentions, and by veiling private intereſts
" and paſſions under the ſacred name of re-
" ligion.

" So criminal an oppoſition would afflict
" us ſenſibly, and at the ſame time would
" call forth our ſevereſt cenſure. It is our
" conſtant care to prevent and repreſs what-
" ever has this tendency; and we even
" think it worthy of our paternal ſolicitude
" to prohibit the very badges that are uſed
" to diſtinguiſh diviſions and parties.

" Induced by theſe conſiderations, and
" informed that in various places of the
" Kingdom, ſome individuals had taken
" the liberty of wearing cockades different
" from the National one, which we wear
" ourſelves; and conſidering the miſchiefs
" that might enſue from this difference, we
" think it right to forbid it.

" Therefore, we forbid all our faithful
" ſubjects throughout the whole of our
" Kingdom to make uſe of any other
" cockade than the National cockade.

" And we exhort all good citizens to ab-
" ſtain,

" ſtain, in their ſpeeches as well as in their " writings, from all reproaches and names " calculated to exaſperate and to foment " diſſenſions, or that might even ſerve as a " pretence for criminal exceſſes.

" (Signed) LOUIS."

The reading of this Proclamation in the Aſſembly was frequently interrupted by expreſſions of rapture, and was ſcarcely finiſhed before the Hall rung with the plaudits of the *Coté-Gauche* and of the galleries, and with repeated ſhouts of *Vive le Roi!*—It was decreed with rapture, " that a Deputation " of twenty-four members ſhould be ſent " to the King to give him an account of the " tranſports of joy, and of the ſentiments " of attachment and of love which the " reading of this Proclamation had excited, " and to thank his Majeſty, in the name of " the Nation, for the care he took to bring " back the People to concord, and to unite " all the French to their beloved Monarch." No ſooner was this Decree paſſed, than the univerſal applauſe demonſtrated that it no leſs expreſſed the ſentiments of the ſpectators than of the Aſſembly.

The ſpeech made by this Deputation to the

the King deſerves to be known, as the Aſſembly adopted it as the faithful expreſſion of their own feelings, and ordered it to be printed. It was in ſubſtance as follows:

" SIRE,

" You ſhowed yourſelf to be the greateſt " of Monarchs, when you invited the " French to liberty: you now ſhow your- " ſelf to be the beſt of fathers by recalling " them to peace and brotherly union. What " heart but will be affected? What heart " but will be overcome? The Aſſembly " have charged us to inform you of the " rapture produced by the reading of a Pro- " clamation, in which your goodneſs and " tender ſolicitude are ſo admirably depicted. " The expreſſions of reſpect and inviolable " loyalty echoed amidſt the Aſſembly as " they roſe from every heart; and we " come, Sire, to lay the offering at your " feet. Never were we more truly the in- " terpreters of the general will of the " Nation."

Is it poſſible to reflect without indignation, that it was by repeating on every occaſion theſe acts of exceſſive goodneſs and con-

condeſcenſion, more like a father than a King, that *Louis XVI.* paved his way to the ſcaffold? Is it poſſible to do other than devote to everlaſting execration the monſters, as ſtupid as ferocious, who dared to accuſe of tyranny a King infinitely too good, and declare him guilty *of a conſpiracy againſt public liberty, and of attempts on the general ſecurity of the State?*

The debate upon the plan of a Conſtitution for the Clergy in future was opened on the 29th of May, and occupied the greater part of the Sittings in June. The Archbiſhop of *Aix*, who ſpoke firſt, eſtabliſhed and claimed, in a manly manner, in the name of his colleagues, the rights of eccleſiaſtical power. "If," ſaid he, "you have not recourſe to "the authority of the Church, you forget "the Catholic unity, which is a part of the "Conſtitution of the Empire. We can in "no caſe renounce the forms preſcribed by "the Councils: we have pointed out to "you the objects which may be regulated "in the Provincial Councils, and thoſe that "require the concurrence of the civil and "eccleſiaſtical powers. There are no law-"ful means of inveſtigation, of concilia-

"tion,

" tion, and deciſion, which we have not
" propoſed; and we have at leaſt the grati-
" fication of having manifeſted all the in-
" clinations of miniſters of concord and
" peace. We therefore propoſe to you to
" conſult the Gallican Church by a Na-
" tional convocation. It is there that the
" power which ſuperintends the truſt of
" faith reſides; it is there that, inſtructed in
" our duties and your wiſhes, we ſhall re-
" concile the intereſts of the People with
" thoſe of Religion. We moſt earneſtly
" beſeech the King and the National Aſſem-
" bly to permit the convocation of this
" Council: but if you now adopt the plan
" propoſed by your Committee, we declare
" that we cannot join in any Decree reſpect-
" ing objects of a ſpiritual juriſdiction,
" proceeding from a power entirely civil,
" and without the intervention of the
" Church *." This Declaration was ſup-

* Theſe principles, which ſerved as the grounds of the defence of the Clergy, were ſometime after enlarged upon by the Archbiſhop of *Aix*, in the famous Act entitled *Expoſition des Principes*. This Act, ſigned by all the Biſhops of France, was approved by the Pope, as containing the true doctrine of the Gallican Church. See *Appendix*, No. ix.

ported

ported by all the Biſhops preſent, and by all the eccleſiaſtical Deputies who remained faithful to their duty.

The Aſſembly, or rather the Anti-Catholic Faction which compoſed the majority of it, congratulated themſelves on having only to reject the requeſt of the Biſhops, to avoid the trouble of refuting their objections againſt moſt of the articles of the plan formed by the Committee. The debate was reſumed in the Sitting of the 1ſt of June, on the Archbiſhop of *Aix's* propoſition which was oppoſed in an elaborate manner by the advocate *Camus;* who maintained that the Aſſembly being a National Convention had a right to alter the religion of the country; that, nevertheleſs, they did not wiſh to change it; and that the plan of the Committee did not invade the ſpiritual juriſdiction, as it only related to temporal objects. Six or ſeven country prieſts ſupported this opinion, and the Aſſembly decided by a great majority, that they ſhould paſs to the order of the day, that is to ſay, to the diſcuſſion of the articles of the plan of the Committee.—The Biſhops perſiſted in taking no part in the determination relative to it, and by ſo doing

doing rendered it, as far as they could, null.

In the Sitting of the 29th of May alſo, Mr. *Necker* introduced to the Aſſembly a new *ſpeculative* ſketch of the ſupplies wanted for the current year, and the reſources by which they were to be raiſed. He had already communicated it to the Committee of Finances; but the obſcure and cold approbation of a Committee was not glory enough for Mr. *Necker*. The ſolemnity of a Miniſterial reading in preſence of the Repreſentatives of the Nation promiſed him much more brilliant ſucceſs, which he was not inclined to neglect, and he went to flatter the Aſſembly that he might be flattered by them. "It is dear to me, Gentlemen," cried he with emotion, "to communicate with you "*at leaſt now and then* in a direct manner. "Although deprived of that habitual en- "couragement by the formation of your "Committees, I do not concur with leſs "zeal in the arrangements which are there "preparing; but I cannot relinquiſh the "very natural deſire of ſometimes engag- "ing your attention and kindneſs."

In the general ſtatement he gave of the receipts

receipts and expences ordinary and extraordinary for the eight laſt months of the year 1790, The receipts amounted

	Livres.
to -	654,625,000
And the expences to - -	645,210,000
The ſurplus of receipts was therefore - - -	11,415,000

This ſpeculative ſketch would doubtleſs have been very conſoling, if the head of receipts had not chiefly conſiſted of a patriotic contribution, valued at 30,000,000, of the funds which were expected from the loan of September 1789, or from thoſe of the *Pays d'Etats*, and of the 380,000,000 *livres* in Aſſignats remaining to make up the 400,000,000 which had been created. But how were reſources ſo immenſe, ſo ruinous, to be replaced or renewed for the enſuing year? How was this new order of things, which after reducing the revenue of the State almoſt a half, had more than doubled its expences, to be ſupported? How, in a word, was complete order to be ſecured in the Finances for the future? Here was the problem the moſt important and neceſſary to

be ſolved. The ſolution given to it by Mr. *Necker*, and the different articles of which he compoſed his ſpeculative ſketch of future reſources, ſtood thus:

Livres.

1. The taxes laid on thoſe hitherto exempted, the amount of which he valued at - - - 32,000,000

2d. The augmentation ariſing from the better diviſion of the two-twentieths - - - Memorandum.

3d. The increaſe of which the duty on collateral ſucceſſions is ſuſceptible - - - Memorandum.

4th. The probable increaſe of the duties of one per cent. on the ſale of all real eſtates, from thoſe of the King's demeſnes and of the Clergy, being open to alienation - Memorandum.

5th. The augmentation which may be made to the revenue ariſing from the Poſt by means of a

new

new tariff, and ſtricter regulations in reſpect of privileges and franks Memorandum.

6th. The poſſible increaſe of a produce from the woods of the King's demeſne lands, by a better management - Memorandum.

7th. Idem, as to the demeſnes engaged - Memorandum.

8th. The gradual extinction of the annuities - Memorandum.

9th. The probability that the Aſſembly, in poſſeſſion of the eſtates of the Clergy declared National, will find in that wealth all expences paid, a great augmentation of revenue - - - - Memorandum.

10th. The annual introduction of new gold and ſilver into Europe, of which France takes a conſiderable ſhare - Memorandum.

11th. Laſtly, all that may be expected from an Aſ-

ſembly where there is ſo much knowledge; and all that a Nation ſet in motion for the public good ſhall diſcover of abuſes, yet unknown, to be reformed, and of improvements to urge or to make - - - Memorandum.

Theſe numerous reſources, calculated, not upon the imaginary value which wild hopes, revolutionary quacking, or ignorance might aſcribe to them in a ſpeculative ſketch, but according to the real reſult that ought to be expected from them, could not, and did not, produce an augmentation of a hundred millions to the revenue. In whatever manner the eſtates of the Clergy might have been managed, tithes being ſuppreſſed, it was impoſſible they ſhould have produced a revenue ſufficient to anſwer the expences of divine worſhip, and the ſupport of the old and new Clergy. Mr. *Necker* was certainly not ignorant of this. How then could he ſincerely believe, or flatter himſelf to make others believe, that an augmentation of a hundred

hundred millions in the revenues of the State would ſecure complete order in the Finances for the future, while it was clear, from the ſpeculative ſketch which he preſented, that about 500,000,000 of extraordinary funds added to the ordinary revenues of the year 1790, produced in the receipts only a ſurplus of 11,415,000 *livres?* However, after diſplaying this ſketch of ſpeculative wealth and of real miſery, he exclaimed, with tranſport—"What ideas, Gentlemen, "are awakened by this compendious ſtate-"ment of our immenſe reſources! Methinks "there is pleaſure in preſenting ſuch a view "both to the friends and to the enemies "of France*. It gives ſtill greater beauty "to the noble, grand, and ſalutary decla-"ration you have made of your love of "peace, and of your dereliction of all kind "of aggrandiſement of the French Em-"pire. How magnificent a Kingdom then "is that which no event, no ſeries of "abuſes, or internal diviſion can ruin! Nor "is it to be doubted but that your zeal and

*. One might be almoſt tempted to think that Mr. *Necker* had already foreſeen that the expences of divine worſhip, and the incomes of the Clergy, would be ſoon ſuppreſſed.

" your knowledge will unfold thoſe grand " and various means. It is impoſſible not " to pay homage to that chain of ideas, to " that combination of knowledge, and that " rapidity of labour which have borne you " over ſo much matter in ſo ſtriking and " diſtinguiſhed a manner. Your great " work diſplays the boldeſt conceptions— " the moſt commanding conduct, &c. &c."

Mr. *Necker*, no doubt, conſidered this diſguſting officiouſneſs as a neceſſary introduction to the ſolid advice he gave the Aſſembly upon the importance of ſuppreſſing the commotions which were breaking out in every quarter, and the general diſorder that reigned throughout the Kingdom. He repreſented ſtrongly the neceſſity " of reſtor- " ing influence and effectual authority to " the Government, without which the Exe- " cutive Power could not exerciſe that ac- " tive ſuperintendance which was become " more neceſſary than ever.

" I know," added he, " that to deter- " mine you to concur effectually in all the " arrangements which order and the welfare " of the State require, it is neceſſary that " diſtruſt ſhould ceaſe: you ever pay a " juſt homage to the virtues of the King—

" virtues of which he is every day giving
" new proofs; and his Miniſters ſhould be
" no obſtacle to your plans, for they will
" eagerly reſign their cares and labours the
" inſtant that other perſons pointed out by
" your confidence, or by the public opinion,
" ſhall draw the King's attention. Mean-
" while, in the pureneſs of their conſcience,
" and the prudence of their conduct, they
" will ſeek amends for much injuſtice, and
" find that patience they ſtand in need of
" againſt the repeated attacks to which they
" are expoſed.

" Pardon me, Gentlemen, if, giving way
" to my feelings, I have wandered, without
" thinking, from the chief ſubject of this
" Memorial; but you would have permit-
" ted it to one of your own members, and
" being connected fully as much as any
" perſon with public affairs, I dare hope
" the ſame indulgence from you. Beſides,
" I ſee the time approaching, when, re-
" moved from the Adminiſtration, I ſhall
" have no ſhare in the promotion of the
" happineſs of France but by my wiſhes;
" and already tranſporting myſelf in
" thought to that period of my life when

" age and retirement unite us in ſome man-
" ner to the impartiality of future times, I
" addreſs you without fear or hope; and
" that ſituation can alone ſupport me under
" the ſenſations of timidity which neceſſa-
" rily accompany the reſpect due to ſo
" auguſt an Aſſembly, and the infinite de-
" ſire which I ſhall always feel to pleaſe
" you."

The Aſſembly, ſatisfied with finding itſelf ſo *auguſt* and ſo *rich*, unanimouſly applauded the eulogium of *their bold conceptions and commanding conduct*. The Preſident thanked Mr. *Necker* for it with great dignity, and concluded his ſpeech with an expreſſion, the ſweetneſs of which could not but be reliſhed by the Miniſter's ſelf-love. " Whoever," ſaid he to him, " talks
" of peace, of concord, of fraternity, and
" of the means of accelerating the felicity
" of the Empire is always ſure of the gra-
" cious attention of the Aſſembly. Why
" mix with theſe cheering ideas the *ſad*
" thought of the moment when you may
" ceaſe to co-operate in putting them into
" execution? There are men who ſhould
" be acquainted only with the pleaſing affec-

" tions

" tions of human nature which unite ſenſi-
" ble beings, and not with the evils which
" afflict them."

While the genius of Mr. *Necker*, ſeconded by Aſſignats, was thus re-eſtabliſhing order in the Finances, the genius of the Revolution was every where fomenting diſorder and rebellion. In the Sitting of the 4th of June the Miniſter of War, *M. de la Tour-du-Pin*, was ſent by the King to the Aſſembly, to give an account of the turbulent anarchy which prevailed in the army. " In ſeveral regiments," ſaid he, " the
" bonds of diſcipline are broken or relaxed;
" the ordinances forgotten; the cheſts and
" colours ſeized; the Officers deſpiſed and
" ill-treated; and, to complete the horror,
" the Commanders murdered before their
" ſoldiers. Public order, Gentlemen, and
" the happineſs of the Country demand
" your interpoſition. Unite your endea-
" vours with the King's, to give his Ma-
" jeſty's Proclamation the commanding
" character of the general wiſh. A union
" of hearts, and profound reſpect for the
" laws, can alone enſure the Revolution:
" it is the chief object of the King's ſoli-
" citude,

" citude, who has declared himſelf the " head of it."

The motions tending to the adoption of prompt and effectual meaſures for ſuppreſſing the mutiny of the regiments, or only for teſtifying the Aſſembly's approbation to thoſe that had not departed from diſcipline, and cenſuring the others, were all rejected. The Aſſembly contented themſelves with voting thanks to the King for his Meſſage, and with ſending the Miniſter's Memorial to the Committee, recommending to them to make their report on the conſtitution of the army as ſpeedily as poſſible.

The Preſident announced on the ſame day, that the King had informed him that he was going to ſpend ſome days at St. Cloud, and that during this and every future excurſion he ſhould make in the ſummer, he ſhould return frequently to Paris, that his communications with the National Aſſembly might always beprompt and eaſy. The Municipality had been made acquainted with the King's intention ſome days before, by a letter from *M. de St. Prieſt*, in which he expreſſed his Majeſty's ſatisfaction at the ſervice of the Pariſian National Guard about his perſon,

and

and his deſire that a detachment of the ſame Guard ſhould be ſent to *St. Cloud* to be on duty as long as the Royal Family remained there. Theſe excurſions were repeated ſeveral times in the courſe of this year, without creating the ſlighteſt ferment in the Capital; where, in ſpite of the incendiary writings circulated by the Factious, the King was ſtill beloved, and his virtues idolized; and where the Aſſembly themſelves would not have dared to fail in reſpect to his perſon, without being puniſhed for it by that very people who were every day applauding with rapture decrees the moſt adverſe to the Royal authority, becauſe they did not underſtand them, and becauſe, the King not being named in them, they imagined that they attacked only the authority of the Miniſters, Intendants, Agents of deſpotiſm, &c.

Great and general was the applauſe obtained by the Reporter of the Committee of Finances (*Le Brun*), when preſenting the baſis on which all the heads of the expences of the State were to be regulated; and ſpeaking of the Civil Liſt he ſaid: "With reſpect to the "King's perſonal eſtabliſhment, it is con- "ſiſtent with the greatneſs of the Nation to

"wave

" wave the diſcuſſion of thoſe particulars; " and to his Majeſty alone it belongs to re- " gulate them according to his convenience " and taſte: from his virtues we have but " to fear too rigid an economy. You wiſh " your Monarch to be the moſt magnificent " of Kings, as you are the greateſt of Na- " tions. You would not deſtroy the luſtre " which diſtinguiſhes the French Court.— " It muſt doubtleſs be your wiſh alſo that " this Monarch, whom, had not Heaven " beſtowed him upon you, you would have " choſen, may be at eaſe as to the income " for his auguſt family. The Reſtorer of " French liberty ſhould not be ſubject to " doubts as to the expences of his houſe. " I propoſe therefore that you decree, that " his Majeſty ſhould be again entreated to " fix his eſtabliſhment in a manner corre- " ſpondent to the majeſty of his Throne, to " the love and to the loyalty of a great " Nation."

This decree was immediately and unanimouſly adopted with the livelieſt acclamations; which were in a few days renewed with tranſports of joy and inexpreſſible emotion on the reading of the King's anſwer, which was as follows:

" To

" *To the Preſident of the National Aſſembly.*

PARIS, JUNE 9, 1790.

" SIR,

" Divided between the principles of rigid " economy, and the conſideration of ex- " pences which the luſtre of the Throne " and the appearance of the Head of a " great Nation require, I could have wiſhed " to have left it to the National Aſſembly to " ſettle the eſtabliſhment of my houſehold; " but I yield on being again urged, and " ſend my anſwer to you, which I requeſt " you will communicate to them."

The King's Anſwer to the National-Aſſembly reſpecting his Civil Liſt, and a Proviſion for the Queen.

" I could have wiſhed to leave it entirely " to the National Aſſembly to fix the ſum " to be applied to the expences of my eſta- " bliſhment civil and military, but the re- " petition of their requeſt, and the expreſ- " ſions that accompany it, have made me " change my reſolution. I ſhall therefore " enter into a very plain explanation with " them.

" The

" The expences included under the title " of *The King's Houſehold* are,

" 1ſt. The expences in reſpect to myſelf, " the Queen, the education of my children, " the eſtabliſhments of my aunts, and, " which I ſhould now immediately add, the " eſtabliſhment my ſiſter has a right to ex- " pect from me.

" 2dly. The buildings and *Garde-meuble** " of the Crown.

" Laſtly, My military eſtabliſhment, " which, in the plans communicated to the " Military Committee, was not included in " the expences of the army.

" The whole of theſe different heads, " notwithſtanding the reductions that have " taken place ſince my acceſſion to the " Throne, amounted to thirty-one millions, " beſides an aid from the town of Verſailles " of nine hundred thouſand livres, which " in future will make a part of the public " revenue, with the diminution owing to " my conſtant reſidence at Paris.

* The buildings where the furniture of the King's palace, and of all the Royal country ſeats, caſtles, &c. were depoſited; and alſo the diamonds, jewels, &c. belonging to his Majeſty.

" I think

" I think that twenty-five millions, with " the addition of the revenue ariſing from " the parks, demeſnes, foreſts, and country- " houſes, which I ſhall reſerve, may, by " means of conſiderable retrenchments, con- " veniently ſuffice for thoſe expences.

" Although I include my military eſta- " bliſhment in the articles I have ſtated, I " have not yet entered upon its arrangement. " I wiſh in this reſpect, as well as in every " other, to reconcile my views with the " new order of things. I do not heſitate to " ſay, that the number of troops deſigned for " the King's Guards ought to be ſettled by " a conſtitutional regulation; and as thoſe " troops muſt ſhare the honours and dan- " gers attached to the defence of the " Country, they ought to be ſubject to the " general rules of the army.

" For theſe conſiderations, I have poſt- " poned the period of my *Gardes-du-Corps* " reſuming their duty: and in this delay of " the arrangement of my military eſtabliſh- " ment I feel the leſs inconvenience, as, " ſince the National Guards have taken the " duty about me, I have experienced from " them all the zeal and attachment I can " wiſh; and I deſire that they never may

" be

" be removed from about my perſon."—[*Here the reading was interrupted by clapping*]—" It would be impoſſible for me to " diſcharge from a confined annual fund " the arrears of my houſehold, with which " the Aſſembly are acquainted, and I deſire " that they will include this debt in the " general plans of liquidation.

" I think, that as the Conſtitution prohi- " bits the ſale of Offices, the money paid for " thoſe of my houſehold, and for thoſe of " my brothers', ſhould be ordered to be re- " turned, and to make a part of the pre- " ceding article. This arrangement will " naturally be attended to by the Aſſembly; " and it will be ſo much the more juſt, as " they who had ſacrificed conſiderable ſums " of money to purchaſe the offices, had " grounds for depending on favours which " the new order of things no longer ſuffers " them to hope.

" I ſhall conclude with the article which " I have moſt at heart.

" By my marriage contract I engaged " that the Queen, if ſhe ſurvived me, ſhould " have a ſuitable houſe reſerved for her: " ſhe has given up that which has ever " been reſerved for the Queens of France,

" and

" and which was valued at more than " four millions of livres.

" This is an additional reaſon for my " wiſhing, that the indefinite engagement " which I entered into with her and her " auguſt mother ſhould be rendered certain " by the ſettlement of a proper proviſion: " it will be grateful to my feelings to owe " to the Repreſentatives of the Nation my " eaſe on a point which ſo eſſentially con- " cerns my happineſs.

" Having now complied with the wiſhes " of the National Aſſembly, with the con- " fidence which ought to reign between " them and me, let me add, that I never " will oppoſe them in any arrangement re- " lative to my own perſon. My true in- " tereſts are thoſe of the Kingdom; and pro- " vided that liberty and public order, thoſe " two ſources of the proſperity of a State, " be ſecured, I ſhall find the deficiency of " my own perſonal enjoyments made up, " and even exceeded, by the ſatisfaction I " ſhall reap from the daily view of public " felicity.

(Signed) LOUIS."

I have already mentioned the effect which this anſwer produced. Scarcely was it read, when it was propoſed to decree immediately all the articles it contained; at which the whole Aſſembly roſe at once, without waiting for the queſtion being put to the vote, and it was determined that the King's letter ſhould itſelf be the Decree, only inſerting at the bottom, that all the articles of it had been decreed unanimouſly and by acclamation. Amidſt the ſhouts of *Vive le Roi* with which the Hall ſtill rung more than ever, it was propoſed to go inſtantly in a body to the King; and this emotion, truly French, would have hurried the whole Aſſembly to the Palace, had not *Barnave* ſtopped them by obſerving, with his uſual unfeelingneſs, "That as the buſineſs only related to a pecuniary arrangement between the Nation and the King, it would not be a well-judged occaſion to go in a body to his Majeſty; that ſo ſolemn a ſtep had not been taken in more important circumſtances; and that it would be enough if the Preſident were charged to acquaint the King with the determination of the Aſſembly, and of the manner in which it had paſſed."

This

This frozen motion was ſeconded and decreed; and the Sitting concluded with ſettling the Queen's jointure at an annual ſum of four millions, according to the King's deſire.

When the King was informed of theſe decrees, and of the manner in which they had been paſſed, he was infinitely more affected by the eager emotions of the Aſſembly than by their decrees; yet his Majeſty appeared particularly ſenſible of that which related to the Queen's ſettlement, and he charged the Preſident, *M. de Bonnay*, to teſtify his gratitude for it to the Aſſembly.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Decree of the Aſſembly relative to the Inſtitution of the Feſtival of the Federation —Deputation of the Conquerors of the Baſtille — Burleſque Deputation of the four Quarters of the World — Motion againſt the four Figures chained at the Foot of Louis XIV.'s Statue in the Place des Victoires—Motions againſt the Titles of Nobility, againſt Hereditary Nobility, againſt Armorial Bearings and Liveries, and againſt the Appellations of Monſeigneur, &c.—Decrees conformable to all theſe Motions—Obſervations publiſhed by Mr. Necker againſt thoſe Decrees—The Tennis-Court Oath engraved on a Braſs Plate, carried in Triumph by the

the People, and preſented to the Aſſembly —Maſſacres at Avignon—Affair of Count de Lautree and Viſcount Mirabeau—The latter compared with his elder Brother.

THE Revolution gained ground, but the crimes which had produced it attached to its principal epochas recollections full of horror. That of the 14th of July 1789, from which the founders of the new French liberty had agreed to date its pretended regeneration, brought to mind numberleſs villanies; particularly the murder of *De Launay* and *De Fleſſelles*; their bleeding heads borne in triumph on pikes; the maſſacre of the poor unarmed Invalids found in the Baſtille, and many others. It is true, that it alſo brought to mind that famous ſiege, that exploit as ridiculous as guilty, which the loweſt mob had, in their rhodomontades, called *the conqueſt of the Baſtille;* and as the crimes which had been the conſequence of it had conſummated the annihilation of the Royal authority, it was the period the memory of which the Factious choſe to immortalize, by celebrating its anniverſary with the moſt brilliant national feſtival that had ever been kept. The ſolemn taking of *the civic*

oath on the altar of the Country was the object of it. Deputies from all the National Guards throughout the kingdom, and from all the military corps, were to be called to Paris for this purpoſe. The Aſſembly fixed the number of them at one man for every two hundred of the National Guards in each diſtrict; but in the diſtricts above two hundred leagues diſtant from the Capital, one for every four hundred. The expences of the journey of theſe Deputies, both going and coming, were to be ſettled and borne by their reſpective diſtricts. With reſpect to the troops of the line, it was decreed, that every regiment of foot ſhould ſend an Officer, and a Warrant-officer who had ſerved the longeſt with the regiment, and the four oldeſt ſoldiers: and that each regiment of horſe ſhould ſend two Officers and two troopers. The addreſs of the Citizens of Paris to all the French, publiſhed on this occaſion, is an hiſtorical paper, the more intereſting as it ſhows what were then the opinions, principles, and official ſtyle of the Conſtituted Authorities of the Capital. It was ſigned by *M. de la Fayette*, *M. Bailly* the Mayor, and by a Sieur *Charon*, Preſi-

dent

dent of the Deputies of the Commune of Paris, and is as follows:

" *Dear Brothers and brave Friends!*

" Never did more imperious circum-
" ſtances call upon *all the French* to unite
" with one mind, to rally boldly about the
" Law, and promote with all their power
" the eſtabliſhment of the Conſtitution*.

" This wiſh lately expreſſed by the moſt
" beloved of Kings, this wiſh which we
" have all formed, we propoſe to you now
" to accompliſh.

" Ten months are ſcarcely elapſed ſince
" the memorable æra when from the walls
" of the conquered Baſtille there aroſe a
" ſudden ſhout of *Frenchmen, we are free!*
" On the ſame day let the more affecting
" ſhout be heard of *Frenchmen, we are*
" *brothers.*

" Yes, we are brothers—we are free—we
" have one country. At length, after being
" too long bent under the yoke, we reſume
" the proud attitude of a Nation conſcious
" of its dignity.

" The edifice of the Conſtitution riſes:

* The King's Proclamation of the 28th of May 1790.

" the ſtorms of politics, the ſtruggles of " intereſt and of envy, and the efforts of " time, ſhall break againſt it and be loſt.

" *We are no longer either Bretons or* " *Anjouvians*, ſay our brothers of Britany " and of Anjou: like them we ſay, We are " no longer Pariſians, we are all Frenchmen.

" The examples you ſet have inſpired " us with a great thought; you will adopt " it, for it is worthy of you.

" You have ſworn to be united by the " indiſſoluble bonds of a holy fraternity; to " defend the Conſtitution of the State, the " Decrees of the National Aſſembly, and " the lawful authority of our Kings, to your " lateſt breath: we as well as you have " taken that ſolemn oath; let us, it is time, " let us make of all theſe federations one " general confederation.

" How glorious will be the day of the " covenant of the French! A nation of " brothers, the regenerators of the Empire, " a Citizen-King, aſſembled to take a com- " mon oath upon the altar of the Country " —What an auguſt and novel ſight to " ſurrounding Nations!

" We would go to the extremities of the " Kingdom to join with you in this ſo-

" lemnity, but that our Legiſlators and our " King reſide within our walls: gratitude " keeps us with them, and calls you; we " ſhould together preſent them with the " view of a grateful, happy, and a free " Nation, as a reward for their virtues and " their labours.

" You will be with us, brave warriors! " our brothers in arms and our friends! " who have ſet us the example of civiſm " and courage, who have defeated the pro- " jects of deſpotiſm, and who have felt, " that to ſave your Country was to fulfil " your oaths.

" And you, Frenchmen! whoſe preſence " would have been ſo grateful to us, but " who are ſeparated from us by ſeas or im- " menſe regions, you will hear with the " expreſſion of our regret that we were to- " gether in thought, and that in ſpite of " diſtance you were placed amidſt your " brothers at the feſtival of the Country.

" It was on the 14th of July that we re- " covered liberty; it ſhall be on the 14th of " July that we will ſwear to preſerve it. " On the ſame day, and at the ſame hour, " let a general and unanimous ſhout of *God* " *bleſs the Nation, the Law, and the* " *King!*

" *King!* reſound through every part of " France: and let it be ever the ſhout of " rallying to the friends of the Country, " and of terror to its enemies.

" Of its enemies!—No, Frenchmen! " the Country, Liberty, and the Conſtitu- " tion, will no longer have enemies, from " the moment we ſhall have guarded theſe " objects of our worſhip and of our love " with all the public force. Then will all " thoſe men who ſtill wear and ſeem to " cheriſh their chains, riſe to the height of " our common deſtiny, and aſpire to the " honour of ſeeing their names inſcribed in " this family compact, the monument of " our glory, and everlaſting ſurety of the " felicity of this Empire.

" We are, with an inviolable attachment, " dear brothers, and brave friends, your " Countrymen,

" *The Citizens of all the Diſtricts of* " *Paris aſſembled.*

" (Signed) LA FAYETTE, *Commander in* " *Chief of the Pariſian National* " *Guards.*

" BAILLY, *Mayor of Paris.*

" CHARON,

" CHARON, *Preſident of the Deputies of*
" *the Commune of Paris for the Na-*
" *tional Confederation.*
" PASTORET, } *Secretaries.*"
" LAFISSE, }

All theſe patriotic arts were put in practice to conceal the real object of the Federation, and were deviſed only to enſure the oath and ſupport of all the National Guards of the Kingdom, in favour of the new Conſtitution, and thus to cure the radical defect with which it was tainted, by the abſolute want of power in thoſe who had joined in the forming of it.

The fermentation excited by the approach of this great day in all the revolutionary heads, the aſſaults made upon one another by the different parties that were rivals in popularity, and the mad ſacrifices they contended in making, from the hope of rendering themſelves ſtill more popular, produced ſcenes and decrees incredibly extravagant.—The Aſſembly had never in their moſt tumultuous Sittings exhibited a ſhow of inſanity more complete than that which the 19th of June preſented. It might have been ſaid that the auguſt Repreſentatives of France

France had devoted that day to repreſent only the portion of the Nation confined in the mad-houſes, at Charenton, and in all the lunatic hoſpitals of the Kingdom.

June 19th.] The Aſſembly were ſcarcely met when a Deputation of that band of ruffians of the Fauxbourg *St. Antoine*, who ſince the 14th of July the year before had arrogated to themſelves the title of Conquerors of the Baſtille, was introduced at the bar*. The feſtival of the Federation being only the aniverſary of the taking of the Baſtille, could not but bring to mind very ſtrongly the gratitude that was due to thoſe who were ſuppoſed to have rendered ſo important a ſervice; and this was the moment they choſe to aſk for the reward of it. The advocate *Camus*, who was charged with the report of their demand, recounted with rapture all their prodigies of valour, wondered that they had received no recompenſe before this time, and declared, that

* To theſe ragged heroes we muſt aſcend for the origin and illuſtration of *Sansculotiſm*, and it was in honour of them that the Conſtitution of 1793 beſtowed the name of *Sansculotides* on the five laſt days of the year, according to the Republican Calendar, ſince called *complementary days*.

the

the Nation itſelf ſolicited a reward for theſe brave citizens, who thought nothing of their loſſes and their wounds, provided they might enjoy the honour of having ſaved their country. The Decree he moved was adopted *with acclamation*, and was in ſubſtance as follows:

" The Aſſembly, ſtruck with admiration " at the heroic intrepidity of THE CONQUERORS OF THE BASTILLE, decree, " that they ſhall be provided with a ſuit of " regimentals and arms, complete. Upon " the barrel of the muſket, and the blade " of the ſword, ſhall be placed theſe " words:—*Given by the Nation to N——, " a Conqueror of the Baſtille.* There ſhall " be delivered to each of them an honourable certificate expreſſive of the gratitude " of the country. A ſimilar certificate " ſhall alſo be delivered to the widows of " thoſe who fell at the ſiege of the Baſtille. " A place ſhall be appointed for them at " the Federation of the 14th of July, where " France may contemplate at leiſure the " firſt reſtorers of liberty. They ſhall be " inſcribed in the archives of the Nation,

" and

" and the National Aſſembly ſhall conſider " thoſe to whom they owe pecuniary re- " wards*."

This Sitting was followed by another ſtill much more ridiculous. The Preſident announced a Deputation compoſed of Engliſh, Pruſſians, Sicilians, Ruſſians, Poles, Germans, Swedes, Italians, Spaniards, Brabanters, inhabitants of Liege and of Avignon, Swiſs, Genoeſe, Indians, Arabians, Chaldeans, Turks, Africans, &c. &c. who requeſted to pay their homage to the Aſſembly. They were immediately introduced to the bar. One of theſe ſelf-created Deputies, who aſſumed the appellation of Baron *de Clootz du Val de Grace*, a Pruſſian, the ſpeaker of the pretended Committee of Foreigners and their Deputation, made an

* The National and French Guards were ſo highly irritated at this Decree, that ſome brutal exploſion would have very ſoon followed, in which the glory of the Conquerors of the Baſtille would have been ſeriouſly committed, had they not been in a hurry to go and reſign at the bar of the Aſſembly (June 25th) the diſtinctions and extraordinary honours which had been ſo ridiculouſly laviſhed upon them.

harangue

harangue to the Aſſembly, that was as violently democratic as thoſe which the moſt furious ſpeakers ſometimes roared from the tribune of the Club of Jacobins. We may judge by the following ſpecimens:

" This civic ſolemnity (the Federation) " will not be the feſtival of the French " only, but alſo the feſtival of mankind. " The trumpet that ſounds the reſurrection " of a great Nation has echoed through the " four quarters of the world, and the notes " of joy of a chorus of twenty-five millions of free men have awakened nations " long buried in ſlavery——the union of " the children of France, that enchanting " picture, is a ſource of bitter anxiety to " deſpots, and of juſt hopes to nations " enſlaved.

" A great thought has alſo ſtruck us, and " we might venture to ſay it will be a completion of the great National day. A " number of foreigners of all the countries " of the earth requeſt to be placed in the " middle of the *Champ de Mars*, and the " cap of Liberty, which they will raiſe with " tranſport, ſhall be the pledge of the ap-

" proaching

" proaching deliverance of their unhappy " countrymen. You will ſee in your train " free men, whoſe countries are in chains— " whoſe countries ſhall one day be free by " the influence of your unſhaken courage, " and of your philoſophical laws.

" No embaſſy was ever more ſacred.— " Our credentials are not figured upon " parchment, but our miſſion is written in " indelible characters upon the heart of " every man; and, thanks to the authors " of the Declaration of Rights, thoſe cha- " racters will no longer be unintelligible to " tyrants. You have proved beyond a " doubt, that the Sovereignty reſides in the " People: now the People every where are " under the yoke of Dictators, who call " themſelves Sovereigns, in ſpite of your " principles. The Dictatorſhip is uſurped, " but the Sovereignty is inviolable; and " the Ambaſſadors of tyrants could not do " ſo much honour to your auguſt feſtival as " moſt of us whoſe miſſion is tacitly ac- " knowledged by our countrymen, that is " to ſay, by oppreſſed Sovereigns. What a " leſſon for deſpots! what a conſolation for " unfortunate nations, when we ſhall in-

" form

" form them that the firſt Nation of Europe,
" in aſſembling its banners, has given the
" ſignal of the happineſs of France, and
" of the two worlds!

" We will wait, Gentlemen, in reſpect-
" ful ſilence, your determination on the Pe-
" tition which has been dictated to us by
" the enthuſiaſm of univerſal Liberty."

The Aſſembly ſeveral times interrupted the ſpeaker by long plaudits, and the Preſident (*Menou*) made the following reply :—
" The National Aſſembly conſent to your
" taking a part in the ceremony at the Fe-
" deration of France in arms; but they
" attach one condition to their conſent,
" which is, that when you return to your
" reſpective countries you will relate to
" your countrymen what you have ſeen."

The Deputy Turk, or he who was ſo called, made an attempt to ſpeak, but his broken French was underſtood by nobody. It was preciſely the ſcene of the *Mamamouchi* of *Moliere;* and the ſimplicity with which the enraptured Aſſembly was the dupe of this farce, placed them in the character of

the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* as completely as that of the Turkiſh Prince was ſuſtained by the Deputation *.

" Citizens

* *M. de Boulainvilliers*, who was that day at the Aſſembly, obſerved among the Deputation a negro who belonged to one of his friends. " Ah, *Azor!*" ſaid he to him, " what are you come to do here?"—" Heigh, " Maſſa!" replied the negro, " no me do de Afri- " can?"

It was diſcovered the next day, that this embaſſy of all the nations of the earth to the moſt auguſt Aſſembly of the univerſe, and which formed the train of the Baron *de Clootz* †, was entirely compoſed of vagabonds and foreign ſervants hired at 12 livres a head. The ſecret was betrayed by an orthographical error. One of the vagabonds of the Deputation went the next day to the Marquis *de Biancourt*, a member of the Aſſembly, and aſked to be paid his 12 livres. " What do you " mean by your 12 livres?" ſaid *M. de Biancourt*, " I " do not know you, and how do I owe you any " thing?" " Becauſe, Sir, it was I who did the Chaldean " yeſterday in the Aſſembly; we were engaged for " 12 livres a piece, and I was deſired to come to you " to be paid."—" Indeed, Mr. Chaldean, you have " been ſent to a wrong perſon; I know nothing of the " engagement you talk of, and have nothing to do in

† This pretended Baron *de Clootz*, who afterwards took the name of *Anacharſis Clootz*, and the title of *Speaker of the Human Race*, was choſen a member of the Convention, and guillotined under the reign of *Robeſpierre* towards the end of March 1794.

" that

" Citizens aſſembled from all parts of " the world," cried the Deputy *Fermont*, " are come to offer you the nobleſt homage " you can poſſibly receive in recompenſe " for your labours: I move that their re- " queſt be granted by acclamation, and that " the ſpeech of their leader be printed with " the Preſident's anſwer."

" Gentlemen," ſaid *Alexander de Lameth*, " I ſecond the motion made in fa- " vour of theſe generous ſtrangers. But " I have another idea to lay before you: the " day on which the Deputies of all the Pro- " vinces are to aſſemble to ſwear to that " Conſtitution which promiſes liberty and

" that buſineſs." *M. de Biancourt* made no ſecret of this viſit, and the particulars even got into ſeveral newſpapers. It was pretty generally ſuſpected that an ill-ſhaped L taken for a B had cauſed the poor Chaldean's miſtake, and the Duke *de Liancourt* was in conſequence ſuppoſed to be the Treaſurer of the Embaſſy; which however he has conſtantly denied. The author of this farce has been fought and aſked for in vain; he has never made himſelf known; and it is not yet very clear whether the impoſition was meant to be put upon the Public, or on the Aſſembly only. Certain it is, that the Public was not impoſed upon, and that the Aſſembly were, or appeared to be, completely ſo.

" equality to all Frenchmen, ſhould not re-
" call to any of them, ideas of humiliation
" and ſervitude. The figures repreſenting
" four Provinces, the Deputies of which
" have always been eſteemed in this Aſſem-
" bly among the firmeſt ſupporters of the
" rights of the Nation, are chained as
" images of tributary nations at the feet
" of the ſtatue of *Louis XIV.* Gentlemen,
" ſhall we ſuffer the eyes of the citizens
" who are coming to ſwear to the Conſti-
" tution for thoſe generous Provinces to
" be ſtruck with a ſight not to be borne by
" free men? Thoſe monuments of pride
" cannot ſtand in the reign of Equality.—
" Erect ſtatues to Princes who have deſerved
" well of their country; dedicate one to
" the memory of the Reſtorer of Liberty;
" but haſte to deſtroy emblems that degrade
" the dignity of man, and which muſt
" wound citizens whom we honour and
" cheriſh. I move, that the four figures in
" chains, at the bottom of the ſtatue of
" *Louis XIV.* in the *Place des Victoires*, be
" taken away before the 14th of July."

This motion, which the *Coté-Droit* endeavoured to get rid of, was followed by

ſeveral others not leſs conſtitutional.—
" This day," ſaid the Deputy *Lambel*, " we
" dig the grave of Vanity: I move that all
" perſons be prohibited from taking the
" titles of Peer, Duke, Count, Marquis,
" &c. &c. and that Nobility be no longer
" hereditary."

This motion was ſtrongly ſupported by *Charles de Lameth*, who maintained that the titles of Duke, Count, &c. being repugnant to the equality which formed the baſis of the new Conſtitution, and being derived from the Feodal ſyſtem which was aboliſhed, could not exiſt without evident abſurdity; and that all citizens, therefore, ſhould be prohibited uſing any of thoſe titles in their legal writings. " Hereditary Nobility," added he, " ſhocks reaſon, and is repugnant to
" true liberty. There is no political equa-
" lity, no emulation left for virtue, where
" citizens have any other dignity but that
" which is annexed to the offices they fill,
" any other glory but that which they owe
" to their actions: the title of Noble,
" therefore, ought alſo to be prohibited
" in legal writings. As for thoſe who in
" common converſation, and in their letters,
" might affect ſtill to preſerve thoſe puerile

" diſtinctions, they will be puniſhed in be-
" ing pointed at as among thoſe who ſtill
" miſconceive our happy Revolution."

At this time there exiſted a very marked rivalry between *M. de la Fayette* and the *Lameths*. The latter maintained a conſtant ſuperiority over him in the Jacobin Club, and their popularity began to gain greatly upon his throughout the Capital. The repeated applauſes which they had lately obtained gave *M. de la Fayette* as much uneaſineſs as embarraſſment. His ſhare of applauſe was neceſſary to make up a little for the ſtart his rivals had got of him, and of which they had not failed to make the moſt; for none were more able than they to manage revolutionary means, and the art of profiting by circumſtances. But at that moment of delirium, the only ſentiments applauded were thoſe of the moſt outrageous democracy, and it was difficult to ſtrike out any thing to equal the extravagance of what had already been moved. Meanwhile then, till *M. de la Fayette's* patriotiſm ſhould ſuggeſt to him ſome motion of the ſame nature, he contented himſelf with approving with dignity that which had been made by *Charles de Lameth.* " This motion," ſaid

he

he with great emphaſis, " is ſo neceſſary, that " I do not think it will have occaſion " to be ſupported; but if it has, I declare " I ſecond it with all my heart."

After him a Deputy of the *Tiers-Etat* (*Goupil de Prefeln*) ſupported all the motions that had been made, and ſhowed that the ſame ideas had long been the object of his meditations. In fact, he preſented the plan of a Decree already drawn up, which included them all, and in which was added the ſuppreſſion of the titles of *Monſeigneur* and *nos Seigneurs* in every ſtate and rank, the Princes only excepted.

This exception afforded an opening to *M. de la Fayette*, and he made it the ſubject of a brilliant motion. " I deſire," ſaid he, " to make an obſervation on this ex- " ception. In a free country, there is no " diſtinction but of citizens and public of- " ficers. I know that the hereditary magiſ- " tracy of the King requires great energy: " but why give the title of Prince to men " who in my eyes are but active citizens " when they have the qualifications for " ſuch*?"

M. de

* This motion would no doubt have been excuſable,

M. de Noailles declared that he ſhould ſupport with all his ſtrength, the motions that had been made; and moved further, that, in future, incenſe be reſerved for the Deity, and be no more uſed in homage to men, let their rank and quality be what they may. He alſo beſought the Aſſembly to take into their conſideration the degraded claſs of ſervants, and order that in future no livery be worn.

M. de St. Fargeau moved for an order that every citizen ſhould uſe only his family name, and not that of an eſtate; and, true to his principle, ſubſcribed his motion ſimply *Louis Michel le Pelletier*.

if the infamous Duke of *Orleans* had been the only Prince of the Blood in France; but, Heaven be praiſed! the illuſtrious race of the Bourbons then had, and ſtill has, many auguſt branches of the blood of *St. Louis*, *Louis XII.* and *Henry IV.* magnanimous Princes, who have ſhown themſelves in their misfortunes more worthy than ever of recovering the inheritance of their anceſtors, by proving that they have inherited all their virtues. Alas! for ſeven years paſt has France, bewildered, been expiating, by the moſt dreadful calamities, the crime of forgetting their kindneſs, and denying their rights. May ſhe, now awakened by the continuation of her diſaſters, at length repair errors that have been ſo fatal to her; and ſoon recover the tranquillity, ſafety, and happineſs ſhe has loſt!

Mathieu

Mathieu de Montmorenci was at firſt grieved for having come too late to the Aſſembly, and found the field of reforms completely reaped; but was again ſoon delighted to have ſtill to move, on this day of the general annihilation of anti-ſocial diſtinctions, the abolition of thoſe that moſt recalled to mind the feudal ſyſtem and ſpirit of chivalry. He meant armorial bearings, and moved the ſuppreſſion of them.

A member of the Order of the Nobility riſing to move an amendment of this motion, was ſuddenly interrupted by theſe words from one of his colleagues:—"A "Gentleman can move no amendment—he "cannot compound with honour."

M. de Sillery obſerved, that as their Kings could no more have private quarrels, the legend *ultima ratio Regum* which was ſtamped on the cannon ought to be effaced.

The Abbé *Maury* ſupported *M. de St. Fargeau's* motion for reſuming family names, but oppoſed all the other motions.—He defended the glory of *Louis XIV.* and the Nobility with his uſual eloquence.—"The Romans," ſaid he, "had Orders "of

" of Knighthood, and yet were free. In " France the Nobility is Conſtitutional; to " deſtroy it is to deſtroy the Monarchy." He concluded with moving, that the diſcuſſion of ſo important a queſtion ſhould be adjourned till the morning.

This motion was ſupported by thoſe members of the Nobility of the *Coté-Droit*, who ſpoke in this Sitting. — They did not doubt that ſuch extravagant propoſitions, diſcuſſed coolly and before dinner, would be rejected by a great majority. Many kept ſilence from a thorough perſuaſion that the more extravagant theſe Decrees were the leſs could they be maintained; and that they might in their fall draw down many others. Indeed it was pretty generally believed, that the chief view of thoſe who made the moſt violent motions, and particularly of *M. de la Fayette*, was to have Decrees paſſed, that were ſo abſurd and ſubverſive of the eſſential principles of the Monarchy, that the King would be under the neceſſity of refuſing them his ſanction. The people might have been the more eaſily ſatisfied on this refuſal, from having read ſome days before in the public papers, a letter written

written by *M. de St. Prieſt* to *Cherin* the genealogiſt, informing him "that his Ma-"jeſty deſired that he would receive no "more genealogical documents, which "might be previouſly offered for his ex-"amination by the Gentlemen of the No-"bility who wiſhed to be introduced at "Court." This order, by which a favour was extended to Plebeians that had till that time been granted only to Gentlemen, aboliſhed the only honourable diſtinction the Nobility had remaining; for all their honorary rights, privileges, and pecuniary exemptions, were already taken from them; and for a length of time the rich of all claſſes were allowed to take what arms and livery they pleaſed. Thus, if Nobility ſtill recalled to the minds of real Gentlemen the virtues or the ſervices of their anceſtors, and the duty of imitating them; it neither was nor could be regarded by the multitude but as a word abſolutely void of meaning, which could as little provoke jealouſy as flatter vanity. There was, therefore, no fear of an inſurrection at Paris on account of the refuſal to ſanction the Decrees in queſtion, a refuſal which the Factious had much more powerful reaſons for deſiring.—

They

They would have magnified it to the utmoſt, to diſpel the doubt of the King's liberty ſince his reſidence in the Capital, and to prove that it was with his own free conſent he had given his ſanction to all the Decrees before preſented to him, as it only depended upon him to refuſe it; that ſuch ſanction had therefore been an act abſolutely free, and was conſequently inconteſtably valid. But if ſuch were the hope of the motion-makers of the 19th of June, it was completely diſappointed. The King, fearing to weaken the manifeſt nullity of the ſanction which he had been forced to give to all the Decrees paſſed ſince the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October, ſanctioned alſo on the 28th of June the Decrees of the 19th, notwithſtanding the entreaties of Mr. *Necker*, who wiſhed the King not to aſſent to the Decree degrading the Nobility, till he had offered his obſervations to the National Aſſembly. The Council did not approve of that ſtep, and were of opinion that the ſanction ſhould be pure and unqualified. Mr. *Necker* did not the leſs perſiſt in his opinion, and made a ſhowy diſplay of his oppoſition to that of his colleagues, by a Memorial which he publiſhed with the King's conſent,

ſent, in which he diſcuſſed the Decrees of the 19th of June, and proved with all poſſible politeneſs that they were equally fooliſh, unjuſt, and impolitic; and indeed we have but to read them to be convinced that they are ſo.

The firſt Decree:—(*June* 19.)—" The " National Aſſembly taking into conſidera- " tion, that at the approach of the great day " which is to unite the citizens from every " part of France for the National Federa- " tion, it imports the glory of the Nation " not to ſuffer the exiſtence of any monu- " ment that recalls ideas of ſlavery offenſive " to the provinces united to the Kingdom; " that it becomes the dignity of a free peo- " ple to conſecrate only actions which they " may themſelves have judged and acknow- " ledged to be great and uſeful; have de- " creed and do decree, that the four chained " figures in the *Place des Victoires* ſhall be " removed before the 14th of July next; and " the preſent Decree, after receiving the " King's ſanction, ſhall be ſent to the Mu- " nicipality of Paris to be put in exe- " cution."

The ſecond Decree: — " The National " Aſſembly decree, that Hereditary Nobility

" is

" is for ever aboliſhed: that in conſequence,
" the titles of Duke, Count, Marquis, Vif-
" count, Vidame, Baron, Chevalier, Meſ-
" ſire, Eſquire, Noble, and all other ſuch
" titles, ſhall neither be taken by nor given
" to any perſon whatſoever.

" That every citizen ſhall take only the
" real name of his family; that no perſon
" can either wear or cauſe to be worn a
" livery, or uſe armorial bearings; that in-
" cenſe ſhall be burnt in places of worſhip
" only in honour of the Deity, and ſhall not
" be offered to any creature whatever.

" That the titles of Monſeigneur and Meſ-
" ſeigneurs, of Excellency, Highneſs, Emi-
" nence and Greatneſs, ſhall never be ap-
" plied either to any body of men, or any
" individual. Provided nevertheleſs, that
" no citizen, under pretence of the preſent
" Decree, can or may make any attempt
" to injure the monuments fixed in the
" churches, or the charters, titles, and other
" documents concerning families or pro-
" perty, or the decorations of any public or
" private place; and provided that the exe-
" cution of the regulation relative to liveries
" and arms painted on carriages, be not en-
" forced or required by any perſon whatſo-
" ever

" ever before the 14th of July, as to citizens
" reſiding at Paris; and before three months
" as to ſuch as live in the provinces. The
" regulations of the preſent Decree ſhall not
" extend to foreigners, who may continue
" to uſe their liveries and armorial bearings
" in France."

It was not till the concluſion of the debate which preceded theſe decrees, that the *Coté-Droit* of the Aſſembly began to perceive that it was ſeriouſly propoſed to paſs them; when ſeveral Deputies of the Nobility ſprang towards the tribune, and demanded with warmth to be heard, but were refuſed amidſt the general ſhouts of the *Coté-Gauche* and of the galleries. The queſtion was put on both decrees, and they were paſſed by a great majority at eleven o'clock at night.

As the Aſſembly was going to break up, a deputation of the citizens of Paris was introduced into the Hall, preceded by a plate of braſs, decked with a crown of oak-leaves, and on which the oath taken by the Commons in the Tennis-Court at Verſailles, on the 20th of June the preceding year, was engraved. One of the members of the Deputation ſaid, " That the next day being the
" anniverſary of the oath which the Depu-
" ties

" ties had ſworn to render France free, this " monument ſhould be carried in a ſolemn " manner, and fixed in the place which had " been conſecrated by that memorable act."

This addreſs, and the patriotic reply made to it by the Preſident, obtained the greateſt applauſe; and the Aſſembly roſe amidſt tranſports of joy and noiſy acclamations. It was too much like the night of the 4th of Auguſt preceding, not to terminate like it. And it was in the delirium of thoſe turbulent orgies that the Repreſentatives of the French Nation deſtroyed its ancient Conſtitution, and ſubſtituted in its ſtead the moſt abſurd reveries, under the impoſing title of *Conſtitutional Decrees!*

Several other remarkable events happened in the month of June 1790. On the 10th, the moſt violent commotions broke out at Avignon. In the account ſent by the Municipal Officers of the town to the Aſſembly, they accuſed the *Ariſtocrats* of having ſeized on the *Hotel-de-Ville* and four cannon, and of having fired from all quarters on the honeſt citizens, on the good patriots, more than thirty of whom had fallen victims to their zeal. The people had marched againſt thoſe aſſaſſins, had ſeized and ſacrificed four of

of them; twenty-two more had been arreſted, and would have been put to death if the National Guards of the neighbouring Communes, who had flown to the aſſiſtance of Avignon, had not prevented it. The next day all the diſtricts of the town aſſembled, and unanimouſly voted an union of the Comtat of Avignon with France. The armorials of the Holy See were immediately deſtroyed or removed, and the arms of France put in their place with great pomp, amidſt the cries of *Vive la Nation, la Loi, et le Roi!* The Aſſembly were informed of this event by an extraordinary meſſenger, who arrived at Paris on the 17th of June. His diſpatches announced that four Deputies had been appointed to repair immediately to the Aſſembly to ſolicit their conſent to the union.

While the fatal name of *Ariſtocrats* was thus raiſing the Avignon mob againſt the Nobles and Prieſts, and the Pope was ſtripped of a portion of his States, as a puniſhment no doubt for his preſumed ariſtocracy, two Deputies of the Order of the Nobility, Count *de Toulouſe-Lautrec* and Viſcount *de Mirabeau,* who were abſent on leave, were arreſted; the former by the Municipality of Toulouſe, and the latter by that of Caſtelnaudarry.

naudarry. *M. de Lautrec* was accuſed of taking ſteps to raiſe an inſurrection, and of endeavouring to bribe the men of the National Guards to prevent the partial federation which was to take place at Toulouſe on the 14th of July, and to reſtore the old ſyſtem. The King's Solicitor of the Seneſchal's juriſdiction hearing by public rumour of this pretended plot, denounced it on the 17th of June by a formal information to the Municipality, who, on the depoſition of two or three of the Guards, ordered *M. de Lautrec* to be arreſted. This was done the next day by a detachment of the National Guards, at a country-houſe where he had been reſiding ſince the 10th of June, the day of his arrival, in ſpite of his quality of Deputy and the inviolability annexed to it. He was detained at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where he underwent an examination; in which he formally denied all the charges brought againſt him, and the bribes he was accuſed of having offered. He was notwithſtanding kept in cuſtody; but the Municipality ſtaid the proceedings againſt him, until they ſhould receive orders from the National Aſſembly, to whom they ſent an account of the affair.

The

The Viſcount *de Mirabeau* had more wit and natural talents, but leſs knowledge, than his elder brother: his character was in high eſtimation for his frankneſs and ſincerity, his romantic bravery, his ſentiments of honour, and his loyalty to the King; yet he was ſuperior to his brother ſtill more by his qualifications than by his virtues. The elder *Mirabeau*, early plunged by the violence of his paſſions and by the uncommon vigour of his conſtitution into all manner of exceſs, had ſhaken off the yoke of principles, and had ſubſtituted in their place ſyſtems ever dependent, as to his conduct, on the ſordid calculations of intereſt. His long and frequent impriſonments had conſiderably ſoured and hardened his diſpoſition, and in the courſe of them he had alſo acquired the habit of reflecting deeply, of conſidering a queſtion under all its points of view, and of ſupporting with equal ſtrength the affirmative or negative; whence that readineſs, that ſuperiority in reply which gave him an immenſe advantage over all his opponents. Unfortunately, the beſt cauſe was always in his opinion that for which he was beſt paid, and his eloquence at the ſervice of the higheſt bidder. He has been unjuſtly accuſed of cowardice:

on ſeveral occaſions when his life only was at ſtake he has given unequivocal proofs of courage. But he was often daſtardly through avarice or vanity: there was no inſult however ſerious which he could not bear when he had a large ſum to receive, or an important ſpeech to deliver in the Aſſembly next day; and it ſeldom happened but that one or other of theſe was the caſe. Being a Royaliſt on conviction, he would have ſupported the throne very powerfully, had not Mr. *Necker* ſcrupled to purchaſe his ſervices; and it was not till he refuſed them that he offered them to the democratic party, who paid much more for them than he would have got from the Court.

Mirabeau was far from being the author of all the ſpeeches he delivered from the tribune. His attendance at the Aſſembly, and the parties of pleaſure, or rather of immoderate debauch, in which he was perpetually engaged, left him no time to write them, even had his head been ſufficiently at liberty to compoſe them. He had at command a certain number of writers, of more wit than fortune, who, flattered by his patronage, encouraged by his promiſes, and aſſiſted at times by trifling ſums from his purſe,

purſe, did themſelves the honour of working for him. He received them at his houſe at different hours, and employed them all unknown to one another; telling each, under the ſeal of ſecrecy, that he purpoſed to make a motion of ſuch a nature, but that he had ſo little time to beſtow upon thinking of it that it would be doing him a real friendſhip to give him ſome ideas, ſome notes which he might make uſe of, and that he had thought of him for ſuch aſſiſtance. There was not one of them but went inſtantly to work as hard as he could, to juſtify the confidence of a man ſo celebrated as *Mirabeau*. When they had all ſent in their work, he ſelected the beſt paſſages of each, forming a whole out of them, which he arranged and enriched in his manner with ſome pompous phraſes, and then ſet out for the Aſſembly. His fellow-labourers, who got there before him, recognized each the particular paſſage he had furniſhed him with, admired in ſecret the advantage he had drawn from it, and never doubted that all the reſt of the ſpeech was his own compoſition: they wondered at his being able to produce ſo fine an oration in ſo ſhort a time, and left the Hall convinced that no man had more

talents than *Mirabeau*. And there is no doubt, in fact, that he was very able, without the aſſiſtance of any body, to make as good ſpeeches as thoſe he thus patched up: but he had a rarer talent, and the moſt uſeful to a ſtateſman, that of appreciating the talents of others, and extracting the greateſt poſſible advantage from them. *Charlemagne* could hardly ſign his name, and Cardinal *Richelieu* was an indifferent writer; yet the one was the greateſt King, and the other the ableſt Miniſter France ever had.

But let us return to Viſcount *de Mirabeau*'s arreſt, the occaſion of which was this: being informed that a ſpirit of diſorder and revolt had proceeded to a very high pitch in the regiment of Touraine, of which he was Colonel, and that out of nine hundred ſoldiers ſcarcely three hundred paid attention to their duty, he ſet out with the King's permiſſion and on leave from the Aſſembly for Perpignan, where the regiment was in garriſon. He flattered himſelf that his preſence and endeavours would reſtore order and military diſcipline. He arrived at Perpignan on the 9th of June, and immediately wrote to the Municipal Officers to inform them of his intention to take the oath at the

the head of his regiment as ſoon as poſſible; begging them to appoint the day, hour, and place, they pleaſed to receive him. The next day was fixed, and in conſequence *M. de Mirabeau* iſſued orders for the regiment to be ready under arms to join in the ceremony: but three officers, whom perſonal inſults had compelled to abſent themſelves, not having been able to procure horſes to arrive at the hour appointed, the oath was poſtponed till their return, and the orders given the day before to the regiment were revoked. The next morning, at half-paſt ſeven o'clock, a company of ſoldiers with the Adjutant at their head went to *M. de Mirabeau*'s houſe, and forced his chamber door with a great noiſe. He ordered them out, telling them that it was not in that manner that ſoldiers ſhould enter the houſe of their Commander; and they obeyed him. But he had ſcarcely put on his night-gown, when he was informed that above five hundred ſoldiers were at his gate; to whom he ſent orders for a deputation. Fifteen of them immediately went in, and aſked him if it were true that it was his intention to replace the abſent Officers in the regiment. He reprimanded them with dignity for the irregularity of

viſit and of their queſtions, ordered them to return quietly to their quarters, and told them that he would himſelf come in a quarter of an hour, and bring them the King's orders. They thought their Colonel in the right, promiſed him obedience, and withdrew. The caſe was not the ſame with thoſe who were waiting the reſult of this meſſage in the ſtreet. They reproached the deputation bitterly for not having brought out their Colonel, and continued calling for him with ſhouts mixed with the groſſeſt imprecations. *M. de Mirabeau* came out to them, accompanied by ſeven Officers. The ſoldiers drew up on ſeeing him; on which he repeated to them what he had ſaid to their comrades, and added, that it was not in the middle of a ſtreet, or by a mutiny, that they ſhould obtain any anſwer from him. He then ordered them to return to their quarters, to which a NO unanimouſly vociferated was the reply. After this order had been thrice repeated, and had every time received the ſame reply, a ſoldier leaving the ranks went forwards to *M. de Mirabeau*, and ſaid to him in a furious tone of voice: "We know that you want to bring back "into the regiment the people who have "uſed

" uſed us ill, but they ſhall not come back " to it by G—d." The threatening geſtures which accompanied this expreſſion required the more attention, as at the ſame time ſome of the ſoldiers were ſeen picking up ſtones. An Officer informed *M. de Mirabeau* of it, who ſtepped back, drew his ſword, and, waving it in the air, called out, " Officers, this " way—Soldiers, obey your Commander." At the motion made by the Officers to draw their ſwords, the ſoldiers in coming forwards from the ſides of the ſtreet, ruſhed upon one another—ſome fell, others called *to arms*, to which in fact they ran, and very ſoon the diſorder was complete. There was, however, no blood ſpilled. *M. de Mirabeau* went to the Mayor's houſe, where he reſided, and uſed in vain every means of mildneſs and conciliation he could think of, to recall the ſoldiers to their obedience. The Municipality ſuppoſing that the return of public tranquillity depended on his departure, requeſted him to leave the town. With this requeſt he complied, and ſet out the next day, the 12th of June, at five o'clock in the morning, carrying with him the banners.—The regiment being informed the ſame morning of the departure of their Colonel,

went

went at ten o'clock to the Mayor's to take away their colours, and were ſeized with the greateſt fury on ſeeing them ſtripped of the banners. They accuſed the Mayor (*M. d'Aguilar*) of having connived at their being taken away; and in ſpite of all he could ſay to prove not only his innocence but his abſolute ignorance of the offence imputed to him, he was forced away by the ſoldiers, and followed by the whole regiment to the citadel, where he was detained as a hoſtage, under a very ſtrong guard, till the banners ſhould be returned. At the ſame time ſeveral couriers were diſpatched in purſuit of *M. de Mirabeau*, to claim the aſſiſtance of all the Municipalities on the road, in the name of the Nation, the Law, and the King, to cauſe that Officer to be arreſted, and to compel him to reſtore the banners which he had carried off. The Aſſembly ſoon learned that *M. de Mirabeau* had been arreſted at Caſtelnaudarry, where he was ſtrictly guarded, and that the banners of the regiment had been found in his portmanteau.

On the report made by the Committee of Inquiry of this affair, and that of Count *de Toulouſe-Lautrec*, it was decreed, that the Municipalities of Toulouſe and Perpignan ſhould

ſhould immediately ſet them at liberty, and that they ſhould both repair without delay to the Aſſembly to give an account of their conduct. They very ſoon arrived. The Aſſembly heard their juſtification, referred all the papers which had been ſent to them on theſe two affairs to their Military Committee and Committees of Inquiry, and of Reports, and finally declared, after the moſt ample examination, that there were no grounds of impeachment againſt the Officers. The Viſcount *de Mirabeau* ſpoke very nobly on the fact of carrying off the banners, which was the only one that required any explanation.

" I made a very ſimple calculation," ſaid he. " Three hundred ſoldiers, with brave " and loyal Officers, remained firm to their " duty; it was proper to preſerve for the " King this flower of a regiment which had " been ſo often covered with glory, and " which had ever been irreproachable. It " came into my mind to carry the banners " to the King, and I ſhould have ſaid to " him, ' Sire, ſend theſe to a diſtant town, " and let the ſoldiers who remained faithful " be called thither; they will haſten to join " their colours.' This project was that of

" a man

" a man of honour. It was ſaid that the " banners were found in my portmanteau— " 'tis falſe: they were here—on my breaſt " ——they ſhould have been taken only with " my life, had not a citizen whom I conſi- " der more than myſelf (*M. d'Aguilar*) " been in danger."

To complete this narrative with exactneſs I ſhould add, that the day before the Viſcount *de Mirabeau* was heard, a Deputation of the revolted ſoldiers of the regiment of Touraine had been admitted at the bar, had there delivered a ſpeech, which was often interrupted by the greateſt applauſes, and had been admitted to the honours of the Sitting, although the ſpeech was but a continued ſtrain of inſolent declamation and falſities, proved by the authentic vouchers which the Aſſembly had previouſly received.

As the affair of the regiment of Touraine contains nearly the hiſtory of the diſorganization and effects which the Revolution produced in almoſt all the regiments in the army, I thought it incumbent upon me to give an exact report of the principal circumſtances, to ſhow how difficult it was for brave and faithful Officers, thenceforth under the neceſſity of obeying inſtead of commanding

manding their ſoldiers, every day expoſed to dangers without glory, and to outrages never puniſhed, to remain with honour in a ſervice which a general contempt of diſcipline had rendered equally uſeleſs to the King and to their Country; and, indeed, almoſt all of them reſigned their commiſſions.

It was not only to the Deputies of mutinous regiments that the Aſſembly granted the honours of the Sitting; they beſtowed the ſame diſtinction, and in a ſtill more ſtriking manner, on Deputations from foreign nations, which their chapter of the Rights of Man had excited to rebel againſt their lawful Sovereigns, and boaſted without ſhame of having inſpired them with the thought of that crime. When the Deputations from Avignon were introduced at the bar, and there announced that the town and State of Avignon were determined no longer to acknowledge the authority of the Pope their Sovereign, and had voted their union with France, the Preſident made them a reply, rendered more remarkable by having been firſt communicated to the Aſſembly and approved by them. It was as follows:

"The National Aſſembly will pay the

" greateſt conſideration to the object of your " miſſion. *It is a glory to them to have in-* " *ſpired the citizens of Avignon with the* " *wiſhes you now expreſs.* Whatever be " the reſult of your reſolution, the Nation " will always be flattered by your affection " and confidence."

The total alienation of eccleſiaſtical property had been decreed the day before, and the Aſſembly, by their Decrees of reform or rather of annihilation of the Clergy, were encroaching every day upon the ſpiritual power of the Pope: the uſurpation of his temporal power, and the invaſion of his States, could not, to ſuch legiſlators, be an object of the ſmalleſt ſcruple.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXVII.

Singular Adventure which happened at St. Cloud to two young Men deranged in Mind—The Aſſembly endeavour to increaſe their popularity by redoubling their Indulgence to villains—The Duke of Orleans writes to the Aſſembly, and informs them of his Departure from England, to be preſent at the Federation—Preparations for that Feſtival—The Citizens, Men and Women of all Claſſes, go and work in the Champ de Mars—Decree regulating the order to be obſerved at the Feſtival, and the Oath to be taken—Report reſpecting Penſions, tending to ſuppreſs them, and to create new ones in their ſtead, only to the amount of ten Millions—Denunciation of M. de St.

St. Prieſt, M. de Maillebois, and M. de Bonne-Savardin—Arrival of the Federates—Harangues—The King's Anſwer—Details relative to the Feſtival of the Federation.

THE tranquillity enjoyed by the King during his reſidence at St. Cloud, was diſturbed for a moment by a very ſtrange occurrence, extremely calculated to awaken ſuſpicion and diſguſt in the minds of the People.

On the 29th of June, at ten o'clock in the morning, two well dreſſed young men arrived at St. Cloud in a carriage. They went up to the Palace together, and ſeated themſelves at ſome diſtance from each other, under the veſtibule of the great ſtair-caſe which leads to the apartments; and there they paſſed the whole day, in a ſtate abſolutely motionleſs, and without uttering a ſingle word. No one thought he had a right to aſk them what they were doing there; and, in fact, they might have anſwered by quoting the chapter of *the Rights of Man*, that as they were forbidden by no law from entering that veſtibule, they had a right to remain there. The guards of the Palace,

Palace, therefore, contented themſelves with watching them narrowly till the evening, when their orders were to turn all ſtrangers out. They were then told to withdraw.—They removed without any anſwer; but inſtead of quitting the Palace they ſtaid in the Court, walking, with meaſured ſteps, under the windows of the King's apartments. This perſeverance ſeemed extraordinary, and the Officer of the Guard ſent them another order to depart. They then ſpoke for the firſt time, and very mildly aſked, if they might not be allowed to continue in the place where they were? The Guard did not inſiſt, and they were left there till the hour of ſhutting the Palace gates. In a few minutes after they had left the Court, they were met by the patrol of St. Cloud, who ſtopped them, and aſked their names. One ſaid he was called *Paul*, and the other that his name was *Peter*. The Guard obliged them to get into their carriage, eſcorted them to the bridge, and ſaw them go on. Soon after, this patrol heard a carriage coming, found it to be the ſame they had been eſcorting, and ſeeing in it the perſons whom they had obliged to depart, they arreſted and conducted them to the Guard-

houſe. On being queſtioned reſpecting the motive that had brought them to St. Cloud, they both replied, that they had come thither *by a ſuperior order.* Nothing more could be got from them, and they were detained in the Guard-houſe, where they were kept in ſight.

On the next day the King being informed of what had paſſed, ſent to aſſure the Municipality that he had given no order to any one to come to St. Cloud. The young men were again examined, and called upon to tell their real names, and to give an account of the ſuperior order which they pretended to have received. The one ſaid he was the ſon of *M. d'Hozier*, the genealogiſt; the other, that his name was *Petit-Jean*, and that he was a ſon of the Treaſurer of Corſica; and both maintained that it was from God himſelf and the Virgin Mary that they had received an order to come and reſcue the King from St. Cloud. In *d'Hozier's* pocket a paper was found, containing theſe words: "*Louis XVI.* you "have loſt your crown, you will recover it "at St. Cloud;" and in *Petit-Jean's* was a ſmall image of the Virgin, and a letter ſigned *Mary, Mother of God.*

They

They were carried to the priſon of the *Abbaye* in Paris. It was found that they had been long connected; that for about ſix weeks they had been obſerved ſtationing themſelves before the altar of the Virgin, in the church of *Notre Dame*, and that it was after one of thoſe ſolemnities that they had ſet out for St. Cloud. For the ſhort time they were in priſon they preſerved that penſive, tranquil, and ſilent demeanour for which they had been remarked in the veſtibule of the great ſtair-caſe at St. Cloud. There was no doubt as to the nature of their malady, and the examination of their papers fully corroborated in that reſpect what their behaviour and replies to the different queſtions put to them clearly indicated. Theſe circumſtances being publiſhed in all the public papers happily diſſipated the rumours and ſuſpicions which this adventure had begun to create, and men the moſt diſpoſed to be alarmed were forced to allow that ſuch viſionaries could not be very dangerous conſpirators *

The

* Phyſicians have obſerved, that the Revolution had conſiderably multiplied madneſs and idiotiſm in France. They have imputed the former to the ſpecies of frantic

The nearer the day of the Federation approached the more did the Aſſembly exert themſelves to confirm their power, and they eagerly paſſed the moſt popular motions.—They decreed on the 1ſt of July, that the criminal proceedings pending in the Court of Aids againſt the brigands who had pillaged and burnt the barriers at Paris in July the year preceding, ſhould be dropped, and that all perſons detained in priſon by virtue of Decrees given in thoſe proceedings ſhould be ſet at liberty. The preamble of this Decree diſplays a very remarkable popularity, where it ſays, "that the continuation of "thoſe proceedings would ſpread alarms,

delirium which the fanaticiſm of Liberty and Equality brought upon a great number of people, and the latter to the violent and ſudden impreſſion or extreme ſtupor produced by the unexpected ſight of maſſacres and other ſcenes of horror, which ſo often ſtained this period throughout the Kingdom, but principally at Paris. The adventure of *d'Hozier* and *Petit-Jean* indicates a third cauſe of inſanity. Alas! they are not the only perſons whoſe reaſon has been ſhaken by the feelings excited by the misfortunes and dangers of the King. The Revolutionary writers have mentioned thoſe numerous victims of their loyalty, only to turn them into ridicule; ſo far they have played their part, but the part of hiſtory is to reject ſuch atrocious farceſms with indignation, and poſterity will make amends by honourable regret.

" not only in the Capital, but alſo in all " the Departments where ſimilar proceed- " ings might be carried on; that, beſides, " if ſome exceſſes had accompanied the " emotions of the people, who were reco- " vering their rights, which at any other " juncture, would have been ſeverely pu- " niſhed, they were ſo connected with the " concomitant events, that in proſecuting " the authors of them, there would be great " danger of confounding the innocent with " the guilty."—" Do the preſent Judges," cried the reporter, " wiſh to leave no regret " after them? Do they wiſh before they lay " down their office to revenge the ſup- " preſſion of the ancient ſyſtem? Shall the " 14th of July, which is to be a day of feaſt- " ing and happineſs for French Citizens, " be a day of mourning and tears to any? " Under theſe circumſtances, a veil ſhould " be drawn over the ſtatue of the Law."

What a tender concern for villains!—For what crimes did the Aſſembly reſerve their ſeverity, if robbery and the firing of buildings obtained not only indulgence from them, but ſomething like praiſe? *M. de la Touche*, a member of the Aſſembly, and Chancellor to the Duke of *Orleans*, could

not chooſe a more favourable moment for obtaining the approbation of the Aſſembly for the Duke's return to France, in order to be preſent at the Federation. To enſure a more ready ſupport of this application from the *Coté-Gauche*, *M. de la Touche* was very cautious, in making it, not to give the Duke of *Orleans* any other title than that of *Monſieur*, conformably to the nocturnal Decree of the 19th of June, the compliance with which, in this inſtance at leaſt, wounded nobody's ears. "I addreſs you," ſaid *M. de la Touche* in the Sitting of the 6th of July, "to ſubmit facts concerning Mr. "*Louis-Joſeph-Philip* of France, (here-"tofore Duke of *Orleans*) which are "contained in the letter I am going to read, "and I rely on the juſtice of the National "Aſſembly for their deciſion."

He then read the following letter:

"*London, July 3d*, 1790.

"I requeſt you, Sir, to lay before the "National Aſſembly, as ſoon as poſſible, "the following narrative of facts:

"On the 25th of laſt month I did my-"ſelf the honour of writing to the King,

"to

" to inform his Majeſty of my intention to
" repair immediately to Paris: my letter
" muſt have been received by *M. de Mont-*
" *morin* on the 29th of the ſame month.
" I had in conſequence taken leave of the
" King of England, and fixed this after-
" noon, the 3d of July, for my departure.
" But this morning, the Ambaſſador of
" France came to my houſe, and brought
" with him a Gentleman, whom he intro-
" duced to me as a *M. de Boinville*, an
" Aid-de-Camp of *M. de la Fayette's*,
" ſent by his General from Paris, on Tueſ-
" day the 29th, with a meſſage to me.—
" This *M. de Boinville* then told me, in
" preſence of the Ambaſſador, that *M. de*
" *la Fayette* conjured me not to return to
" Paris; and, among other reaſons which
" I did not think worthy of attention, he
" mentioned one of a more important na-
" ture, namely, commotions that might be
" excited by ill-diſpoſed perſons, who
" would not fail to make uſe of my name.
" The particulars of this meſſage and con-
" verſation are certified by the Ambaſſador
" of France, in a writing, the original of
" which I have, and a copy of which,
" ſigned by me, is annexed to this. Doubt-

" leſs, it is my duty not lightly to endan-
" ger the public tranquillity, and I have
" determined to put off my journey, yet
" only in the hope of being able to explain
" myſelf.

" At the time of my departure for Eng-
" land, it was *M. de la Fayette* who firſt
" announced to me, on the part of the King,
" the propoſal of undertaking a commiſſion
" with which his Majeſty wiſhed to truſt
" me. An account of the converſation
" which he had with me on this occaſion is
" inſerted in a narrative of my conduct,
" which I did not intend to make public
" till after my return to Paris, but which af-
" ter this freſh incident I am reſolved to
" publiſh immediately, and to lay the ori-
" ginal on the table of the Aſſembly. It
" will there be ſeen, that among the reaſons
" which *M. de la Fayette* urged for my ac-
" cepting that commiſſion, one of the prin-
" cipal was, that as my departure would take
" from the ill-diſpoſed all pretence for
" uſing my name to excite commotions in
" Paris, he, *M. de la Fayette*, would the
" more eaſily maintain tranquillity in the
" Capital; and this was one of the conſider-
" ations that determined me. But although

" I ac-

" I accepted the commiſſion, the Capital " has not been tranquil; and if, in fact, " the promoters of tumults have not been " able to make uſe of my name to excite " them, they have not been afraid to raiſe " a ſcore of libels upon it, for the pur- " poſe of fixing the ſuſpicions of them " upon me,.

" It is now time to know who are the ill- " diſpoſed individuals, whoſe projects are " known, without any marks by which their " perſons may be traced in order to be pu- " niſhed or repreſſed; it is now time to " know why my name, more than any " other, ſhould ſerve as a pretext for popu- " lar commotions; it is now time to remove " the phantom, or indicate the reality.

" In the mean time I declare, that ſince " the 25th of laſt month my opinion has " been, that my reſidence in England is no " longer of any uſe to the intereſts of the " Nation, or the King's ſervice; that, in " conſequence, I conſider it a duty to " reſume my employments as a mem- " ber of the National Aſſembly; that I am " led thither from my own inclination; " that the æra of the 14th of July, ſince " the Decrees of the Aſſembly, appears to

" call

" call me ſtill more powerfully; and that, " unleſs the Aſſembly decide againſt it, and " inform me of their deciſion, I ſhall perſiſt " in my original reſolution. I alſo declare, " that if, contrary to my expectation, the " National Aſſembly ſhould be of opinion " that there is no ground to deliberate on " my demand, I ſhall hold myſelf bound " to conclude, that they think that all that " has been ſaid to me by this *M. Boin-* " *ville* is to be regarded as if it never had " paſſed; and that there is no obſtacle " to my joining the Aſſembly, of which I " have the honour to be a member.

" I requeſt you, Sir, after ſtating the " facts to the Aſſembly, to lay the preſent " account of them, ſigned by me, upon " their table, and to ſolicit their determina- " tion on this ſubject.

" I ſend a copy of the preſent letter to his " Majeſty by *M. Montmorin*, and alſo to " *M. de la Fayette*.

" (Signed) *L. Ph. Joſeph d'Orleans.*"

The letter being read, *M. de la Fayette* ſpoke as follows: " After what paſſed be- " tween the Duke of *Orleans* and me in " the month of October, and which I " ſhould

" ſhould not have alluded to had he not
" himſelf introduced it before the Aſſembly,
" I thought I owed it to the Duke of *Or-*
" *leans* to inform him that the ſame reaſons
" which had determined him to accept his
" commiſſion might ſtill exiſt, and that
" perhaps an ill uſe might be made of his
" name to give ſome of thoſe alarms, which
" had indeed no effect on my mind, but
" which, however, every good citizen muſt
" wiſh avoided on a day conſecrated to
" general confidence and felicity.

" As for *M. de Boinville*, he had been
" in England ſix months, had come over to
" paſs ſome days here, and on his return to
" London undertook to tell the Duke of *Or-*
" *leans* what I have now repeated to the
" Aſſembly.

" Allow me, Gentlemen, to take this oc-
" caſion, as I am appointed by the Aſſem-
" bly to guard the public tranquillity at
" this grand epocha, to expreſs to you my
" ſentiments on the ſubject. The nearer
" the 14th of July approaches, the more
" am I convinced that it muſt inſpire as
" much ſecurity as ſatisfaction. My opi-
" nion is particularly founded on the patri-
" otic diſpoſitions of all the citizens, on

" the zeal of the Pariſian National Guard,
" and of our brothers in arms, who are
" coming from all parts of the Kingdom;
" and as ſo great a number of the friends
" of the Conſtitution and of public order
" have never been before aſſembled, we
" ſhall be ſtronger than ever we were."

The Duke *de Biron* ſpoke after *M. de la Fayette*, and extolled the important ſervices that the Duke of *Orleans* had rendered to Liberty.

Another member of the Nobility moved, that the Aſſembly ſhould paſs to the order of the day, and his motion was adopted without oppoſition. This was quite enough to remove all obſtacle to the Duke of *Orleans*'s return. He arrived at Paris on Saturday the 10th of July in the evening; repaired the next day to the Aſſembly, mounted the tribune, and uttered ſome patriotic phraſes, which he concluded with the civic oath that had been decreed by the Aſſembly in his abſence, and to which he had aſſented at the time in a letter addreſſed to the Preſident.

The ſituation of the *Champ de Mars*, its extent, and perhaps alſo its claſſical and military appellation, cauſed it to be conſidered as the moſt ſuitable ſpot for the feſtival of the

the Federation. The preparations required in ſo extenſive an incloſure had for ſome days employed upwards of 12,000 workmen. It was nevertheleſs reported, that thoſe preparations would not be finiſhed for the day appointed. All the Diſtricts immediately ſet themſelves in motion, and every day they ſent large detachments with ſpades and pick-axes. The enthuſiaſm ſoon ſpreading, caught the citizens of every condition, age, and ſex, and ſet them all off for the *Champ de Mars*. The delicate dame in ſhort coats, and the ſturdy fiſhwoman; the diſhevelled courteſan and the lay-ſiſter; courtiers and butchers; the financier and the water-carrier; players and monks; ſeminaries, ſchools, old men and children, compoſed this immenſe moving ſcene of work, every point of which preſented a curious or comical group. Here was a Carthuſian digging up the earth, without turning his head, while the barrow was filled by girls of the town, and wheeled away by an oyſter-wench; there, an Academician and Capuchin were yoked to the ſame dray, which was ſhoved behind by a Chevalier *de St. Louis*. A little farther were ſeen detachments of workmen from the neighbouring villages, with

with their Mayor in robes and their *Curé* at their head, proceeding all to work with the ſame ardour. The *Champ de Mars* was then truly a field of equality. Butts of wine were drawn in drays into the encloſure, to be diſtributed gratis to the labourers, while travelling taverns and portable ſhops were pitched round the outſide, to ſupply more delicate refreſhments to the genteel workmen, and the curious who flocked in multitudes to the place. Songs and ſhouts of joy mingled with the work; and the uſual burdens of the patriotic airs were *Ca ira*, *Les Ariſtocrates a la lanterne*, *Crevent les Ariſtocrates*, and others of the ſame nature.

The great number of workmen, and their emulation, ſo rapidly advanced the works, that the fears of their not being completed by the 14th entirely vaniſhed. But the editors of ſome patriotic journals attempted to raiſe fears of a much more ſerious nature. They boldly aſſerted a detection of a conſpiracy to run mines under the *Champ de Mars*, and to blow up that and the Military School together. They adviſed the greateſt precautions to be taken, and particularly a ſtrict ſearch to be made into the common ſewers, where they affirmed that great quantities of powder

powder and combuſtible matter would be found. Theſe were ſearched carefully by Commiſſioners, who found nothing but what ſhould be found there; and on their report the Municipality invited all the citizens to throw off thoſe groundleſs and ridiculous fears, to repoſe on their vigilance, and ſecurely look forward to the feſtival of the 14th of July.

While the precautions and preparations which this feſtival required engaged the whole attention of the Municipality, the order that was to be obſerved, and the form of the oath to be taken at it, were under conſideration in the National Aſſembly, and were regulated by the following Decree upon the Report of the Committee of Conſtitution:

" Art. 1. The King ſhall be requeſted to " take the command of the National Guards " and troops ſent to the general confedera- " tion of the 14th of July, and to appoint " Officers to command in his name and " under his orders.

" Art. 2. At the ceremony the Preſident " of the National Aſſembly ſhall be placed " at the King's right hand, without any " perſon

" perſon between the King and him. The " Deputies ſhall be placed next to the right " of the Preſident and the left of the King. " His Majeſty ſhall be requeſted to give " orders that the Royal Family be properly " placed.

" Art. 3. After the oath taken by the " Deputies of the National Guards and " other troops of the Kingdom, the Pre- " ſident of the National Aſſembly ſhall " repeat the oath taken on the 4th of Fe- " bruary laſt; after which the Members of " the Aſſembly ſhall, each ſtanding and " holding up his hand, repeat, I SWEAR " IT.

" Art. 4. The oath to be then taken by the " King ſhall be in theſe terms: I, King of " the French, ſwear to the Nation to em- " ploy all the power delegated to me by the " Conſtitution of the State, to maintain the " Conſtitution decreed by the National As- " ſembly and accepted by me, and to cauſe " the laws to be executed."

Before this decree was paſſed, a long and animated debate took place, in which the Royal Party gained no farther ſucceſs than by cauſing the diſpoſal of the Royal Family

to be mentioned in the ſecond article; and the title of Firſt Citizen, which the Committee of Conſtitution would have had the King to take, to be omitted in the form of his Majeſty's oath. It was obſerved, that the word *Citizen* implying equality, the expreſſion of *Firſt Citizen* was a ſoleciſm in terms.

The Biſhop of *Clermont* declared in a very formal manner, that he ſhould except from his oath all that regarded ſpiritual matters, and his declaration was not objected to by any perſon.

The burdens of the patriotic hymns in the *Champ de Mars* againſt the *Ariſtocrats*, were only in a manner a parody of the decrees paſſed at the time by the Aſſembly againſt the different claſſes meant by that fatal word. The property of the Clergy having been declared national, and the ſale of the whole already ordered, there remained nothing more to plunder them of; but their complete diſorganization in ſpiritual affairs formed alſo a part of the plan of the Revolutionary Reformers, and the Report on the diviſion of the Kingdom into new metropolitan circles, as well as on the fixing of the

ſees of the new biſhoprics in each Department, took up the Sittings in the beginning of July. At the ſame time the Aſſembly decreed ſeveral articles of the new judicial plan, which entirely completed the annihilation of the ancient magiſtracy.

About the ſame period the Advocate *Camus*, in the name of the Committee of Penſions, gave a Report the moſt ſuited to cauſe all who had ſhared thoſe favours to be conſidered as ſo many greedy and contemptible intriguers, who had practiſed the moſt criminal means to plunder the public treaſury. "The courtiers and intriguers," ſaid he "got all, while they who were really "entitled, remained deſtitute of aſſiſtance. "That was not the only abuſe; a multitude "of titles were heaped on the ſame head, "which makes this expence amount not "only to thirty millions, but, if douceurs "and penſions are added, to fifty-eight mil-"lions—from which we have been induced "to propoſe the total abolition of penſions, "gifts, and gratifications, exiſting on the 1ſt "of January 1790, or which may have been "granted ſince. Be not, however, alarm-"ed; for at the ſame time that we demand

" their ſuppreſſion, we propoſe to you to
" create a certain portion to the amount of
" ten millions, and they who have deſerved
" them need not fear that the claims of
" people unworthy of that reward ſhall be
" preferred: yet as to thoſe who have no
" title, we muſt not throw them into de-
" ſpondency; a ſum of four millions muſt
" be applied for them, which ſhall be gra-
" dually decreaſed. It is propoſed to ſup-
" preſs alſo, 1ſt. The governments of the
" provinces, and caſtles which do not re-
" quire reſidence: theſe are," continued he,
" in the military line what abbeys are in the
" eccleſiaſtical order, that is to ſay, they an-
" ſwer no purpoſe *. 2dly. The ſettlement

* This pettifogger, it is clear, did not know, that in the noble profeſſion of arms, that in the opinion of the French chivalry, moderate appointments attached to an honourable title, though without employment, rewarded an heroic action, an important or glorious ſervice, a thouſand times more than a penſion of double the income could have done. It was the ſame with reſpect to the eccleſiaſtical order. In this view, therefore, it was true economy to preſerve the governments and the abbeys, by invariably referring the diſtribution of thoſe favours to the object of their inſtitution.

" of penſions on the deſcendants of the per-
" ſon to whom they were granted."

A few days after, the Aſſembly, on the continuation of this Report, decreed the rules of economy, or rather of ſordid niggardlineſs, according to which the penſions and gratifications were to be granted: which ſhows that I was not wrong when I ſaid, that the people in the *Champ de Mars* in ſinging *Crevent les Ariſtocrates* parodied and chanted what the Aſſembly decreed.

The Miniſters alſo formed a claſs of Ariſtocrats; and for ſome time they had in turn been the object of abuſe among the editors of newſpapers, of ſuſpicions among the Committees of Inquiry, and in general of the moſt ſerious denunciations, which, though deſtitute of proofs, were admitted with avidity by the credulity of the multitude, and which the Aſſembly themſelves but very feebly repreſſed. The idolatry which had been beſtowed on Mr. *Necker* was entirely out of faſhion; the golden calf was no longer worſhipped. The Count *de la Luzerne*, the Miniſter of the Navy, a true and faithful ſervant of the King, found himſelf reduced

reduced to the neceſſity of drawing up and publiſhing a large volume, to refute the atrocious charges impudently brought againſt him in a denunciation laid before the National Aſſembly by ſome worthleſs people of St. Domingo. *M. de St. Prieſt*, whoſe ardent and invariable devotion to the King had drawn upon him ſeveral attacks equally unjuſt, was obliged, a few days before the Federation, to repel a freſh one of a much more ſerious nature. The Solicitor of the *Commune*, by deſire of the Committee of Inquiry for the town, who ſaid they had conſulted with the Committee of Inquiry of the National Aſſembly, accuſed him of treaſon againſt the Nation, and of being combined in a pretended conſpiracy ſet on foot by *M. de Maillebois* and *M. de Bonne-Savardin*. This charge was founded ſolely on a kind of journal or memorandum found among the papers of *M. de Bonne-Savardin*, who had been arreſted, and on the ſuſpicion that the name of *Farcy* applied to *M. de St. Prieſt*. As ſoon as he was informed of the accuſation laid againſt him by the Solicitor of the Commune, he refuted it with force and dignity in a letter which he wrote

to the Aſſembly; by which he prevented the ill effect that ſuch an imputation could not have failed to produce on that occaſion had it remained unanſwered *.

Meanwhile the Deputies ſent from the Provinces to the Federation were daily arriving in crowds in the Capital. The Pariſian National Guard paid to thoſe who had arrived the compliment of aſſociating them in the guard of the King and of the Aſſembly, and the moſt perfect cordiality ſeemed to reign among them. On Saturday the 10th of July, in the afternoon, the Deputation of the Bretons arrived with their arms and baggage, and halted at the Tuilleries under the King's windows. Their Commander, with whom I was well acquainted

* *M. de Bonne-Savardin* eſcaped from the priſon of the *Abbaye* on the 13th of July, at nine o'clock at night, by means of a counterfeit order from the Committee of Inquiry, which was carried to the jailer by two of his friends dreſſed in the uniform of the National Guard, who having a hackney coach with them went with him into it and carried him off. He was afterwards arreſted on the 28th of July at Chalons on the Marne with the Abbé *de Barmont*, a Member of the Aſſembly, who had given him a place in his carriage.

in

in Britany*, was not deficient in ſpirit, but his imagination was rather too ardent, and he had a familiarity which nothing could repreſs. He did not heſitate a moment to go into the Palace, where he obtained admiſſion to the King, made him a ſpeech extremely loyal, and concluded with bending down to his Majeſty's knees to embrace them. The King raiſed him, and, preſſing him in his arms with a truly paternal kindneſs, ſaid: "Give this embrace from me "to all your comrades, and tell them how "much I feel at the ſentiments you have "expreſſed to me in their name." The lively emotion with which his Majeſty pronounced theſe words could leave no doubt of their ſincerity. The ſcene greatly affected all who witneſſed it, and at the inſtant the Palace every where reſounded with the ſhouts of *Vive le Roi!*

On the 11th the King reviewed ſome diviſions of the National Guard. The Queen

* His name was *Putot de Thievant*: he was a phyſician commiſſioned by the King to ſuperintend epidemic diſeaſes in Britany, under the command of the Intendant; but the perpetual quarrels in which the exceſſive ardour of his zeal involved him, very rarely admitted of his being employed.

was preſent with her children; and their Majeſties paid the moſt flattering attention to the Federates, who were upon the ground in very great numbers.

On the 12th the Federates of Tours, accompanied by the Deputies of Touraine to the National Aſſembly, were preſented to the King, to whom they offered the ring which *Henry IV.* had given to the Benedictines of Marmoutier near Tours, in memory of the ſignal ſervices of the faithful Tourneſe; and beſought his Majeſty to deign to wear that ring on his finger on the 14th of July. The King was highly pleaſed at this mark of reſpect, and, in his reply to the ſpeech that accompanied it, ſaid, that he ſhould with great pleaſure wear *Henry* the Fourth's ring on that day.

On the day before the Federation, *M. de la Fayette* preſented the Chiefs of the Deputation of all the National Guards of the Kingdom to the King, and in their name addreſſed the following ſpeech to his Majeſty:

"SIRE,

"In the courſe of the remarkable events "which have reſtored impreſcriptible rights "to us, while the energy of the People and "the

" the virtues of their King have ſet ſuch " great examples to nations and their ſove- " reigns, we delight to revere in your " Majeſty the nobleſt of all titles, that of " Head of the French, and King of a free " People.

" Enjoy, Sire, the reward of your vir- " tues, and let theſe pure offerings of re- " ſpect, which deſpotiſm cannot com- " mand, be the glory and the recompenſe of " a Citizen-King. You wiſhed that we " ſhould have a Conſtitution founded on " liberty and public order; liberty is ſe- " cured to us, and our zeal will ſecure pub- " lic order.

" The National Guards of France ſwear " to your Majeſty an obedience that ſhall " have no bounds but the law, no end but " that of their lives."

The affectionate and warm reply which his Majeſty made to this ſpeech, was a ſtriking contraſt to the extreme coldneſs of that conſtitutional love offered to him by *M. de la Fayette*, and made the Federates regret that they had not at their head a more faithful interpreter of their ſentiments.

" I am

" I am delighted," ſaid the King, " with " the teſtimonies of affection and attach- " ment which you give me in the name of " the National Guards aſſembled from all " parts of France. May the ſolemn day, " on which you are about to renew in com- " mon your oath to the Conſtitution, diſ- " pel all diſſenſions, reſtore tranquillity, " and fix the reign of liberty and law " throughout the Kingdom! Defenders of " the public order! friends of the laws and " of liberty! reflect that your firſt duty is " to maintain order and to ſubmit to the " laws; that the benefit of a free conſtitu- " tion ſhould be equal to all; that the greater " the freedom of man the more heinous are " offences committed againſt liberty, the " more heinous all acts of violence and con- " ſtraint which are not commanded by the " law.

" Tell your fellow-citizens from me, that " I would gladly have ſpoken to them all, " as I ſpeak to you now: tell them from " me, that their King is their father, their " brother, their friend; that he cannot be " happy but as they are happy; great, but " as they are glorious; powerful, but as

" they

" they are free; rich, but as they are proſ-
" perous; and that if they ſuffer, he ſuffers
" with them. Above all, carry my words,
" or rather the feelings of my heart, into
" humble cottages, and to the retreats of the
" unfortunate: tell them, that though it is
" not in my power to accompany you per-
" ſonally to their ſheds, I wiſh to be ever
" preſent with them by my affection, and
" by enforcing the laws, the guardians
" of the people; that I ſhall watch over
" them, live for them, and *if neceſſary*
" *die for them.* And tell the different Pro-
" vinces of my Kingdom, that the ſooner
" I am permitted by circumſtances to ac-
" compliſh the gratification of the wiſh I
" have formed to viſit them, with my fa-
" mily, the happier I ſhall be."

On the 14th, at ſix o'clock in the morning, the Federates, who had aſſembled in the great ſtreet of the *Fauxbourg St. Antoine*, repaired to the boulevard of the Temple, where the Deputation of each Department received its banners*. This immenſe

* All theſe banners were ordered by the Commune of Paris at their own expence. On one ſide was the name of

menſe train filed along the boulevard, turned into the *rue St. Denis*, paſſed through the *rue de la Ferronerie*, the *rue St. Honoré*, as far as the *Place Louis XV*, the Queen's Road, and the highway below *Chaillot* to the bridge of boats that had been formed oppoſite to the Military School, to be the avenue to the *Champ de Mars*.

The proceſſion was opened by a troop of horſe of the National Guard, with a ſtandard and four trumpets. The Commander of the cavalry and the Major were at the head of this detachment. The train then continued in the following order:—A company of Grenadiers, preceded by a band of muſic and drums; the Electors of Paris; a company of Volunteers; the Repreſentatives of the Communes; the Military Committee; a company of Rangers; the drums of the town; the Preſidents of the Diſtricts; the Deputies of the Commune for the Federal Compact; the ſixty Magiſtrates of the Municipality, accompanied by the Town Guards; another band of muſic and drums; the battalion of Cadets or the Military apprentices;

of the Department, and the word *Conſtitution*, and on the other, *The National Federation at Paris, July* 14, 1790.

the

the battalion of Veterans; the Deputations of the forty-two firſt Departments, according to alphabetical order, each with their colours and drums at their head; the National Aſſembly, who joined the proceſſion by the draw-bridge of the garden of the Tuilleries, ſurrounded by detachments and colours of the Pariſian National Guards: after them came the Deputations of the troops of the line and of the naval forces, preceded by the Royal *Oriflamb*, carried between two Marſhals of France, who were at the head of this Deputation; then followed the General Officers; thoſe on the Staff of the Army; thoſe of the Artillery and Engineers; the Deputies of all the regiments of Foot, Cavalry, Dragoons, Huſſars, and Rangers, according to their rank; the troops of the King's Houſehold and of thoſe of his Majeſty's brothers; the Officers of the Navy, with the Count *d'Eſtaing* at their head, and the Deputations of the remaining forty-one Departments. The proceſſion was cloſed by a company of Volunteer Rangers, and a detachment of the Pariſian National Guard, having a ſtandard and two trumpets.

The ſhowy and taſty dreſſes of the Deputations

putations of the National Guards, the airineſs of their gait, the jollity of the ſpectators, their ſongs and ſhouts, gave this ſpectacle the joyous and animated appearance of a popular feſtival. The Deputations of the regiments compoſed of the veterans of the army had leſs ſprightlineſs, and were remarked for the ſerenity of their countenance; the looks of all being turned, with a moſt lively intereſt, on the *Gardes-du-Corps*, teſtified to them the general recollection of the proofs they had given of their courageous fidelity. The heavy rain that fell on theſe battalions during the whole of their march, in which they often halted, did not leſſen the vivacity of their raptures. The multitude that lined the whole of their way, the crowded windows, the indifference of the Federates and their retinue to the weather, the dead ſilence afterwards reigning within the town, which was abſolutely deſerted, all concurred to increaſe the extraordinary effect of the view which the Capital and its environs preſented at this moment.

The arrival of the Federates in the *Champ de Mars*. as well as that of the King, and of

of the National Aſſembly, were announced by a general diſcharge of cannon. The Deputations of the Departments proceeded with the greateſt order to the places pointed out to them.

To any one who was not preſent it would be difficult to give a juſt idea of the magnificent ſight preſented by this vaſt amphitheatre raiſed in the *Champ de Mars*. On the terrace of the Military School, which ſtood at the upper end of the field fronting the avenue from the river, there was raiſed a creſcent of ſteps, the top of which formed a platform, where the King's tribune, the ſeats of the National Aſſembly, and ſome common tribunes were placed. Over this platform was ſtretched an awning of ſail-cloth, ornamented with *fleurs de lys*, and ſtreamers of the National colours. The white flag was flying in the middle, above the King's tribune. On each ſide of this elevation a circle of thirty rows of ſteps was raiſed, with a very gentle aſcent, where the ſpectators were commodiouſly ſeated, and behind whom there ſtill remained room enough for ſeveral more rows of perſons to ſtand. Upwards of three hundred thouſand ſouls

ſouls occupied this circumference, in various parts of which paſſages were amply provided.

In the middle of the *Champ de Mars* was erected the National Altar, having four fronts, ornamented with figures, and loaded with inſcriptions. One was *Voltaire's* famous couplet, which the Aſſembly had been enlarging upon in the firſt chapter of the Conſtitution:

Les mortels ſont égaux; ce n'eſt pas la naiſſance,
C'eſt la ſeule vertu qui fait la différence.

An excellent religious maxim, but as abſurd in politics, and as completely falſe in almoſt all the relations between man and man, as it is juſt and conſolatory in an evangelical ſenſe, that is to ſay, in the relations of Man with the Supreme Being.

The following couplet was alſo among the others: it contains a more unequivocal truth, and really applicable to ſocial Liberty.

La Loi dans tout état doit être univerſelle;
Les mortels, quels qu'ils ſoient, ſont égaux devant elle.

A third

A third inſcription was compoſed of theſe words :—

La Nation, la Loi, et le Roi. La Nation c'eſt Vous. La Loi c'eſt encore Vous, c'eſt votre Volonté. Le Roi c'eſt le Gardien de la Loi.

The Nation, the Law, and the King. The Nation, that is yourſelves. The Law, that is yourſelves—it is your will. The King, that is the Guardian of the Law.

At the extremity of the incloſure, on the ſide next the river, there was a grand triumphal arch, overloaded with trophies, emblems, allegorical figures, and inſcriptions in lines to look like verſe, but which were bad proſe in bad rhyme. Of theſe I ſhall give but one example :

Conſacrés au travail de la Conſtitution
Nous le terminerons :
Le pauvre ſous ce deffenſeur
Ne craindra plus que l'oppreſſeur
Lui raviſſe ſon heritage :
Tout nous offre d'heureux préſages,
Toute flatte nos deſirs.
Douce Paix ! loin de nous écarte les orages
Et comble nos plaiſirs.

It was through this triumphal arch, placed

at the foot of the bridge of boats, that the Federates and the Aſſembly entered the *Champ de Mars*, amidſt the firing of the cannon, at three o'clock in the afternoon.—The King and Royal Family entered by the Military School. The Federates ranged themſelves in elliptical lines; and, in the interior of the incloſure, between them and the ſteps of the ſides, were placed the Pariſian National Guard. The circular amphitheatre, as before obſerved, was occupied by about three hundred thouſand ſpectators, and the arena by thirty thouſand ſoldiers.—The creſcent before the Military School was occupied by the King on the Throne, to the right of which, three or four inches lower, was placed the chair of the Preſident of the Aſſembly. The Queen and the Royal Family were in an alcove behind the King's tribune. The covered gallery which ran on each ſide of this tribune was filled with the members of the National Aſſembly, the ſubſtitutes, (*ſuppleans*) and the Magiſtracy. On the other ſide of the river, oppoſite to the *Champ de Mars*, were ſeen the riſing grounds of Chaillot and Paſſy, covered by innumerable crowds of ſpectators.

tors. Such was the whole of this immenſe picture.

The Royal *Oriflamb*, or ſtandard, and the eighty-three banners of the Departments formed a quadruple line, ſemicircular before the Altar. The Biſhop of *Autun*, who officiated, pronounced the bleſſing upon them after the Maſs. *M. de la Fayette*, who was appointed by the King Major-General of the Federation, then gave the ſignal for the taking of the oath, and, aſcending the Altar, pronounced it, while the ſpectators held up their hands, and the Federates their drawn ſwords, in token of aſſent. The Preſident of the Aſſembly next roſe, and took the ſame oath, which was immediately repeated by his colleagues, and by all the Federates. The King roſe laſt, and pronounced his oath according to the form decreed by the National Aſſembly; after which, the Queen, raiſing the Dauphin in her arms, ſhowed him ſeveral times to the people, and to the army, on which they all broke out into the livelieſt demonſtrations of love for their Monarch and his auguſt Family. The oaths were all followed by a general diſcharge of the guns of the Invalids and Mi-

litary School. At the concluſion of the oaths, the TE DEUM was chanted by the Biſhop of *Autun*, and performed by the band of muſic ſtationed near the Altar. The ceremony was concluded by the waving of thouſands of hats in the air, and by general ſhouts of *Vive le Roi! Vive la Nation!*

Few accidents happened to diſturb the joy of the day. The worſt was the ſinking in of one of the ends of the bridge of boats, in the return from the *Champ de Mars*.—The perſons who were on that part at the time, fell into the boats that ſupported the bridge, and eſcaped with ſome ſlight bruiſes; but the ſudden preſs of the crowd on the part that had not given way, threw ſome perſons over into the river: none, however, were drowned.

After the ceremony, part of the Federates went to the *Chateau de la Muette*, where tables were laid for them; others returned to Paris, and ſome ſet off that very evening for the country. *M. de la Fayette* appeared at the feaſt at *la Muette*, where, as had been the caſe at the *Champ de Mars*, the homage, the careſſes, the embraces, and

all the demonſtrations of popular idolatry, which Mr. *Necker* had enjoyed the preceding July, were laviſhed on him.

The Deputies to the Federation continued feaſting and amuſing themſelves for ſeveral days. The people gave themſelves up to rapture: their joy was marked with no diſorder, but always mingled with ſome vociferations againſt the *Ariſtocrats*. On the Sunday following, (*July* 18*th*) they aſſembled again in the *Champ de Mars*, where they ſang and danced, and eat and drank, all the day long. *M. de la Fayette* reviewed a part of the army there, and alſo ſome of the National Guards of the Departments, who had not ſet out on their return. A balloon had been prepared, but it unfortunately burſt and wounded ſeveral perſons. At night there was a ſhow upon the Seine, fire-works on the *Pont-Royal*, and balls on the ruins of the Baſtille, in the Corn Market, and at the *Champs Eliſées*, which were magnificently illuminated, as was likewiſe every part of the town.

Thus was celebrated this famous feſtival, the ſtriking ſolemnity of which will for ever perpetuate to the diſgrace of France, the

the memory of the falſeſt oath ever taken; for all who took it have been forſworn, the King alone excepted. Alas! he paid dearly for that fatal fidelity!

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

PRINTED BY JAMES LOW, NO. 7, BERWICK STREET, SOHO.

00037580

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 27 November, 2018